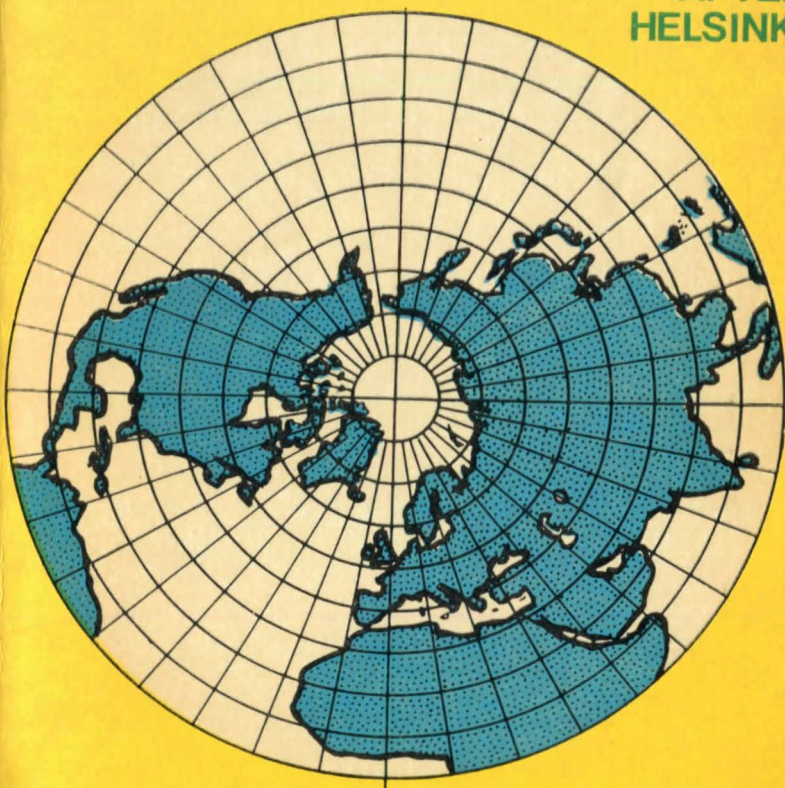


DETENTE

The Soviet Viewpoint

EAST-WEST RELATIONS
AFTER
HELSINKI





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ERRATA

p. 5, second line from top, read:
...leaders of 33 European

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PREFACE

Nearly two years have passed since that memorable occasion when the leaders of 35 European states, the United States of America and Canada affixed their signatures to the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at a ceremony in Helsinki. Ever since, there has been no lack of comment concerning the provisions of this historic document by political leaders and other prominent persons of the participating States, in inter-governmental talks, and in the European and world press. The achievements of the Helsinki Conference are naturally judged by the extent to which the understandings reached there have been implemented in practice and by the impact they have on international affairs. A clear statement with regard to this was made by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, in the speech he delivered in the city of Tula early in 1977. He said:

"Occupying a central place in European politics today is the task of implementing to the full the accords reached by 35 states in Helsinki a year and a half ago. We regard the Final Act

of the European Conference as a code of international obligations aimed at ensuring a lasting peace. All of its provisions must be implemented, of course, and this is our daily task. . .

"In Western countries attempts are often made to single out some elements from the Final Act and launch polemics over them. The purpose here is obvious: it is to obstruct the positive processes begun by the European Conference.

"By working together, the socialist states and states belonging to a different social system achieved important results in Helsinki. There was businesslike co-operation based on a common interest in making the conference a success. Now this co-operation should be taken further. We are ready to work toward this end and, as is known, have already made a number of concrete proposals, in particular on some economic problems."

Over the past two years, the practice of holding political consultations, and contacts between states have been notably expanded in Europe; more and more concrete agreements are being concluded. Questions concerning the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act have become a subject for discussion at international organizations such as the UN Economic Commission for Europe, UNESCO and so on. An important provision of the "first basket", the one concerning prior notification of major military manoeuvres and invitations to foreign observers to attend them, has been observed. In general, the principles and understandings of Helsinki have been steadily becoming adopted in everyday practice in Europe, a fact which is a cause for considerable satisfaction.

At the same time there are people in the West who try to discount the evidence showing that the results of Helsinki are having a positive effect on the European situation. The same forces which sought to prevent the convocation of the European Conference are now trying to discredit its results and to question the sincerity of the socialist states in pursuing their policy of relaxation of tension and promoting co-operation, and are trying to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. Some political leaders in the West display inconsistency in their evaluation of the process of detente and in the implementation of the Helsinki agreements; to suit themselves they take out and play up certain aspects of these agreements to the detriment of the main political context of the Final Act. It is clear that the process of strengthening security and expanding co-operation in Europe would be invigorated and speeded up were it not for this inconsistency, and if all states showed a responsible attitude to the cause of relaxation of tensions and fulfilment of the decisions of the European Conference.

However, taken overall, post-Helsinki European developments show that, despite the opposition of the enemies of peace and their attempts to belittle the significance of the conference, this historic meeting has given a new powerful impetus to the policy of detente and promoted all-round co-operation in Europe.

A meeting of representatives appointed by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the participating states, to be held in Belgrade, will have as its main object an exchange of views on the positive experience of this co-operation and discussion of what further efforts should be taken in the interests of

greater security and co-operation in Europe in conformity with the Final Act.

"The Helsinki Conference, as is known, was called the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe," Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out in his recent speech at the 16th Congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR. "We consider therefore that concern for peace and security in Europe, for developing co-operation between the nations of Europe, should be the main content of the Belgrade meeting. In our view, the main task of the meeting in the Yugoslav capital should be not simply to sum up what has already been done, but to reach agreement on some concrete recommendations and proposals on questions of further co-operation."

The more constructive elements there are in its work and the less attempts are made to level accusations against others or to interfere in the internal affairs of the states participating in the talks, the more valuable the results of the meeting will be.

"East-West Relations After Helsinki" is a collection of excerpts from statements made by Soviet leaders and articles written by political commentators that expound the Soviet point of view on the significance of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and illustrate how the provisions of the Final Act are being implemented by the Soviet Union.

The reader will doubtless direct his attention in the first instance to the appraisals and statements made by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In practically all of

the major foreign policy speeches he has delivered over the last two years, Leonid Brezhnev has dwelt on the problems of European security and co-operation and the Helsinki decisions. The content of these speeches and the frequency with which the Party General Secretary has concerned himself with these problems are confirmation of the highly responsible attitude of the Soviet leaders to the results of the European Conference and the understandings reached there.

The reader will also find statements by Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Boris Ponomarev, Candidate-Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and statements and comments made by members of the Government on various aspects relating to the implementation of the Final Act. The collection includes articles published in "Pravda," and in "New Times," "International Affairs," and other periodicals.

We hope that this collection will help convince the reader of the sincerity of the Soviet Union's efforts to make Europe a continent of lasting peace, co-operation and mutual understanding, a continent worthy of the peoples of Europe who have long dreamt of banishing war and of living in friendship and harmony.

The Soviet Union regards the outcome of the Conference not merely as a necessary summing up of the political results of World War Two. This is at the same time an insight into the future in terms of the realities of today and centuries-old experience of European nations. . .

One could hardly deny that the results of the Conference represented a carefully weighed balance of the interests of all participating states and, therefore, should be treated with special care.

Not an easy road had been travelled from the advancement of the very idea of the European Conference to its culmination, the conclusion at summit level. In assessing soberly the correlation and dynamics of various political forces in Europe and in the world, the Soviet Union firmly believes that the powerful currents of relaxation and co-operation on the basis of equality, which in recent years have increasingly determined the course of European and world politics, will gain, due to the Conference and its results, a new strength and an ever greater scope. . .

Relations between participating states have been placed on the solid basis of the fundamental prin-

ciples which are to determine rules of conduct in their relationships. These are the principles of peaceful coexistence for which the founder of the Soviet state V. I. Lenin fought with such conviction and consistency and for which our people is fighting to this very day. . .

It is very important to proclaim correct and just principles of relations among nations. It is no less important to see that these principles are firmly rooted in the present-day international relations, are put to practical use and are made a law of international life which is not to be breached by any one. This is the aim of our peaceful policy and this is what we declare once again from this lofty rostrum.

The very meeting of the leading figures from 33 European states, from the United States and Canada, unprecedented in history, should, of course, become a key link in the process of relaxation, of strengthening European and world security and of the development of mutually advantageous co-operation. All that is so.

But if the hopes of peoples, pinned on this meeting and on the decisions of the Conference, are to be fully justified, and not frustrated at the slightest change of weather, what is required are common efforts and day-to-day work of all the participating states in furthering detente.

L. I. BREZHNEV

Academician Boris PONOMARYOV,
Alternate Member of the CPSU Central Committee
Politburo, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee
of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet

FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS

The period that has passed since the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was characterized by further development of the process of international relaxation and further progress in implementing the Helsinki accords.

In carrying out the Programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of nations adopted by the 25th Communist Party Congress, the Soviet Union attaches paramount importance to putting into practice the principles of international relations that were unanimously adopted and signed in Helsinki.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have done much during this period to introduce into practice all the principles and understandings agreed upon in Helsinki.

First, in working for a consistent implementation of these understandings they co-operate with each other on the basis of the principles set forth in the Final Act. In this connection it is worth mentioning the Declaration of the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member

States held in Bucharest in autumn 1976. In this Declaration the participating states put forward new important proposals aimed toward consolidating peace and security.

Second, in their relations with other participants in the Conference the socialist countries work purposefully and consistently to affirm the principles elaborated in Helsinki.

Third, mutually beneficial economic contacts have been developing in Europe on a solid basis of large-scale, long-term, compensation and other agreements in conformity with the Helsinki accords. Real prospects are opening for multilateral European economic co-operation.

Fourth, scientific and cultural co-operation, the exchange of information and human contacts have been broadening in Europe as a result of the positive influence of political detente that fosters an atmosphere of trust in relations among states.

Thus, much has been done to realize the provisions of the Final Act. However, while analyzing the results of the post-Helsinki period, it would be wrong to see only positive aspects regardless of their importance. The cause of European and world peace and the process of detente still encounter great difficulties. Regretfully, the forces of imperialism which try to create conflict situations are becoming more active. They provoke acts of interference in the internal affairs of other states. Under their influence attempts are made at distorting the spirit and letter of the Final Act and misinterpreting its principles and understandings.

Political detente should be complemented by relaxation in the military sphere. This calls for a reduction and cessation of the arms race.

The Soviet Union works persistently to stop the arms buildup.

We realize that the process of detente has just started. The threat of a thermonuclear and global war has receded but it still remains. The principal breeding ground for this threat is the continuation of the unabated arms race.

We note with regret that NATO countries constantly increase their military budgets. In 1975, the ten countries which constitute the so-called Euro-group increased their military spending by 5,500 million dollars compared to the preceding year. The situation is particularly dangerous in the USA where the expenditure on the purchase of arms and their development has been rising from year to year. In the current fiscal year, the US defense budget is to reach a record-high sum of 113,000 million dollars. To justify the arms race NATO countries put forward one argument—the existence of the “Soviet threat”. The absurdity and ill-will in this poor excuse for a “reason” were exposed many times. The past 60 years have proved irrefutably that the Soviet Union has never threatened nor does it threaten anyone. Thus in speaking about defense budgets one must remember that while the members of the Atlantic Alliance have been increasing theirs every year, the Soviet Union has been reducing its defense spending for the fourth year in succession. Its defense budget for 1977 has been cut by 200 million roubles.

In doing so the Soviet Government carries out the express will of the Communist Party and the people. However, the struggle against the arms race is not a one-way street. By cutting down its defense budget the Soviet Union hopes that other states will follow suit.

Some people would like to use the Final Act like a restaurant menu—choosing only the items they prefer. Here we mean the attempts of certain quarters to single out the section dealing with co-operation in humanitarian fields as the only significant one. Then some interpret this section arbitrarily, regarding it as giving them *carte blanche* for gross interference in the domestic affairs of others—the reverse of what is written in the Final Act. This document clearly defines the principles of non-interference. Meanwhile, there are still those who are eager to interfere in the affairs of others and impose on others their morals and way of life. In view of this the peace forces must be more vigilant and more active in their struggle against the underhand plotting of aggressive circles and for a consistent and steadfast implementation of all the provisions of the Final Act without exception.

The Soviet Union proposes to act jointly and effectively in promoting the Helsinki understandings, in consolidating the relaxation of international tension and making it irreversible. No effort must be spared to curb and stop the senseless and wasteful arms race which produces an explosive situation.

*From an address made
at a meeting of the
France-USSR Society in
December 1976*

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The overall political atmosphere in Europe is being increasingly cleared of the remnants and prejudices of the cold war. Yet the cause of strengthening peace in Europe and the world and the process of detente still meet with considerable difficulties. There remain the forces of reaction, militarism and revanchism which seek to create conflict situations, whip up the arms race, try to call into question the sovereignty of states, the inviolability of existing frontiers, and the possibility and necessity of further relaxing tensions, and revive the old methods of imperialist policy. These forces provoke interference in the internal affairs of states, and would like to dictate to peoples how to order their internal affairs, which parties should be allowed and which parties not allowed to take part in government. They encourage attempts to distort the letter and spirit of the Final Act and give a perverted interpretation of the principles and understandings adopted in Helsinki, contribute to vacillation and inconsistency in the implementation of the Final Act and in the further improvement of the international situation.

Proceeding from this assessment, the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee Meeting

held in Bucharest in November 1976 stressed the urgent need for taking further concrete measures to weaken the danger of war and military confrontation on the European continent, to achieve real disarmament and foster all forms of peaceful co-operation that help materialize detente. In effect, the socialist states have proposed to their Western partners that the achievements of Helsinki and the accumulated wealth of co-operation experience be used to pass on to a new, higher and more productive phase of detente.

These are the goals of the two documents adopted by the PCC Bucharest meeting in 1976, the Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states, "For the Further Advancement of Detente, and for the Consolidation of Security and Development of Co-operation in Europe" and the Draft Treaty, "Not to Be the First to Use Nuclear Weapons One Against the Other", addressed to all delegates of the European Helsinki Conference.

The Bucharest meeting has not only outlined general decisive approaches towards more constructive and full-blooded bilateral and multilateral international relations on the continent; it has also identified the means and methods of reaching that goal.

Firstly, the Declaration stresses, we must honour the existing international commitments aimed at consolidating security in Europe and not allow these commitments to be distorted. This applies first and foremost to the strict observance of the principles and understandings sealed in the Final Act. This approach rules out, not only neglect or direct violation of the political principles of the document, but also any attempts at arbitrary or selective interpretation of the Final Act, which is a coherent whole, and undue emphasis on some sections while

ignoring others, especially those involving basic problems of European security.

Strict observance of existing treaties and agreements aimed at curbing the arms race and limiting its sphere, is of paramount significance.

A responsible attitude to international commitments also presupposes strict compliance with Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, an inalienable aspect of European detente. The Warsaw Treaty states believe that if West Berlin is to gradually become a constructive factor of European co-operation and its population is to benefit from detente and peace, any attempt to undermine West Berlin's special status and use the city for purposes hostile to the GDR and the other socialist countries must necessarily be renounced. In this context, the Warsaw Treaty states have declared their readiness to maintain and promote many-sided links with West Berlin.

The Warsaw Treaty states have in their Declaration reaffirmed their resolve to observe unswervingly and implement all the provisions of the Final Act. Appealing to all the other states represented at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to act in the same way, the socialist countries express the conviction that the forthcoming meeting of the participants in the European Conference, to be held in Belgrade in 1977, would enable them to continue exchange of views on further efforts to consolidate security and promote co-operation in Europe and develop detente in future. If the Belgrade meeting is to fulfil its role, it should not turn into a "complaints office", an arena of charges and counter-charges, but should be a constructive forum of goodwill, a generator of positive ideas on further developing peaceful mutually bene-

ficial co-operation between the signatory states to the Helsinki Final Act.

Secondly, detente will make little headway if it has to overcome hold-backs and pauses or, even worse, if it falters or retreats, as still happens in the West under reactionary pressure or as a result of the inconsistency of the ruling circles who gave in to pressure from opponents of the peaceful co-existence of nations.

All these years the Soviet Union and its socialist allies have been advocating a genuinely constructive, planned and active approach to detente, which is anything but an uncontrolled "blind play" of political forces. The process calls for singleness of purpose and consistency from those who formulate policies. In the Bucharest Declaration the socialist countries appeal to the Western states to constantly advance to new frontiers of mutual understanding and co-operation, and steadily build up the record of peace and goodneighbourly relations.

In an attempt to contribute to that end and acting in the spirit of the principles and understandings of Helsinki, the Warsaw Treaty states have outlined in the Bucharest Declaration a sweeping programme of practical co-operation in the economic, scientific, educational, cultural and spiritual development of the peoples, in the field of information and personal contacts.

While noting that the level of economic co-operation in Europe today is higher than ever before, the Warsaw Treaty states draw attention to the vast untapped potential still existing in that sphere.

In the Declaration the Warsaw Treaty countries reiterated their desire to promote the elaboration and implementation on an all-European scale of

major measures on co-operation in environmental protection, transport and energy.

Thirdly, the Warsaw Treaty states have raised with added vigour the problem of weakening military confrontation and bringing about disarmament in Europe and the whole world. Without it, international security cannot be reliable.

In Europe, where the most powerful modern armaments, including nuclear, are concentrated, and whose states account for an estimated 80 per cent of the world's total military expenditure, and where foreign military bases exist, any positive progress in disarmament would have far-reaching significance for world peace and security.

Seeking to materialize the ideas enshrined in the Final Act, the Warsaw Treaty states have recently launched new initiatives aimed at bringing about a breakthrough at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. They assign high priority to these talks and are prepared to carry on working towards a mutually acceptable agreement.

"The cardinal question now is," says the Bucharest Declaration, "to put into effect the existing initiatives, to advance along the road of achieving mandatory, effective international understandings in the sphere of disarmament." There are many such initiatives, including a set of concrete proposals on disarmament, the draft world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations submitted by the Soviet Union at the United Nations. A wide range of questions concerning the struggle for disarmament and strengthening of security is identified in the documents of the ruling parties' congresses in the socialist countries and in the final document of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and

Workers' Parties held in the summer of 1976. Constructive ideas in this field have also been advanced by other states and representatives of public opinion.

As noted in the Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states, the division of the world into opposing military blocs has to be overcome in the interests of thoroughly normalizing international relations. The PCC members affirmed their readiness to disband the Warsaw Treaty Organization simultaneously with the disbandment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and to take the initial step of abolishing their military organizations. They appealed to all states not to take any action which could lead to an extension of existing closed groupings and military-political alliances or the creation of new ones. One practical measure to this end could be to suspend simultaneously Article 9 of the Warsaw Treaty and Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which permit the expansion of membership by way of new states joining the organizations. The Warsaw Treaty member states have declared their readiness to enter into negotiations on this matter. They would also carefully examine any other suggestions on gradually weakening the military confrontation in Europe, and reducing the danger of accidentally arising conflict situations.

Wishing to take a new, effective step to avert nuclear war, those attending the PCC meeting in Bucharest proposed that all the signatory states to the Final Act should sign a treaty: "Not to Be the First to Use Nuclear Weapons One Against the Other."

Progressive public opinion of the world has taken due note of the recent proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member states. Many press organs express the view that the signing of such a treaty would,

following the Soviet-US Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, be a new milestone in reducing the danger of global conflict involving the use of the most lethal means of warfare.

However, far from all Western countries were so approving of this new gesture of peace and goodwill from the Warsaw Treaty states. This was demonstrated at the annual session of the NATO Council where attempts were made to call into question this proposal of the socialist countries. It was made to appear that NATO was being asked to disarm unilaterally, by renouncing the use of the weapons in which NATO is on equal footing with the Warsaw Treaty, while the latter allegedly has superior conventional forces.

There is not a grain of truth in such allegations. As regards conventional forces, there is approximate parity between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, as a number of Western political and military leaders have admitted. The proposal therefore means that military rivals of approximately equal strength undertake not a unilateral but a mutually binding commitment not to be the first to use the most dangerous and lethal weapons against one another. The conclusion of such a treaty, safeguarding the peoples of Europe from the threat of a nuclear conflict, meets the vital interests of all European states.

Western political circles have recently admitted that the West is "in arrears" as regards detente. The Austrian Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky has said that the West has not come up with any fresh initiatives towards detente since Helsinki. The West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, in an apparent attempt to smooth over the impression of the West's lack of initiative, spoke of the need for a new impetus to make progress at the Vienna

talks. The Belgian Foreign Minister, Renaat van Elslande, also called for intensified efforts to speed up the process of disarmament.

The socialist countries welcome such statements. In putting forward their proposals they do not seek to monopolize the initiative in solving international problems. Hoping that the ideas enunciated in the Bucharest Declaration will meet with approval, the Warsaw Treaty countries have clearly stated their readiness to study attentively any other proposals aimed at phasing down the military confrontation in Europe and reducing the danger of conflict situations arising by accident. All initiatives by other countries, which really serve the interests of mutual understanding and friendship between nations, can be assured of the most favourable response in the socialist community countries.

THE FRONTIERS OF THE EUROPEAN STATES ARE INVIOABLE

The political and social map of Europe is a complicated one. For it is made up of states belonging to opposing social systems, big and small states—members of different military, political and economic alliances, and non-aligned nations. This factor explains the complexity and multiplicity of interstate relations in the continent and determines the specific interests of the states. But despite their differences the European countries have one aim in common—to prevent a new war from breaking out, to preserve and fortify peace in Europe, and develop co-operation in all fields. It is this common concern that made possible the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, ensured its success, and led to the signing of the Final Act which is rightfully called a European Charter for Peace.

That the question of frontiers occupied an important place during the discussion of European security in Helsinki is natural. For irrespective of the political system, size, geographical location or level of economic development, the inviolability of frontiers is of vital significance for any state. The prin-

ciple of inviolability of frontiers lies at the heart of European security and European peace. The experiences of their tragic past have led the European nations to this conclusion.

After the rout of the Nazi hordes new frontiers in Europe were established and formalized in the Potsdam agreement and peace treaties. Only a few years had passed since the end of the Second World War when the revanchist forces which rose again in West Germany demanded a revision of the European frontiers. These demands which were readily accepted by the West German government of that time contained territorial claims, above all, with regard to the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic.

This policy was one of the main sources of international tension in the 1950's and 1960's and an important manifestation of the cold war. With their principled and firm stand on defending peace and the inviolability of the established frontiers, the socialist countries came out resolutely against any revision of the results of the Second World War.

Much effort had been needed before the European Conference could come to an agreement on the principle of inviolability of frontiers. The Final Act gives the following clear-cut and comprehensive definition of this principle:

"The participating States regard as inviolable all one another's frontiers as well as the frontiers of all States in Europe and therefore they will refrain now and in the future from assaulting these frontiers.

"Accordingly, they will also refrain from any demand for, or act of, seizure and usurpation of part or all of the territory of any participating State."

The European Conference also considered the question of whether the frontiers can be changed at all. It is well known that the need may arise for defining the frontiers between States. The frontiers are demarcated and re-demarcated from time to time. There are instances when states exchange parts of their territory or when one state cedes part of its territory to another state. Such changes or transfers effected by mutual consent of the States concerned, in strict conformity with international law and by peaceful means, can hardly be questioned. The final Act reads in part that the participating States "consider that their frontiers can be changed, in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreement." This is a clear-cut definition reflecting one of the aspects of the state's sovereignty. It is included in the principle of sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty contained in the Final Act and has no connection whatsoever with the problem and the principle of inviolability of frontiers.

It can be said with all certainty that the establishment of the principle of inviolability of frontiers which lies at the root of European peace has a positive influence on the situation in Europe. The adoption of this principle as well as of other principles by the European Conference promotes confidence on the continent and a feeling that the prospects for peace are real, thereby contributing to the deepening of detente. This facilitated the final settlement of one of the few territorial problems left in Europe, namely, of the frontier between Italy and Yugoslavia in the area of Trieste.

The success of the European Conference on the whole and the adoption of the principle of inviolability of frontiers in particular have created new,

very important prerequisites for gradually turning Europe into a continent of peace. Of course, to attain this many problems still have to be solved, among which an agreement on measures of military detente, and above all, on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe at the Vienna talks, occupies one of the most important places. But even now, Europe where all territorial problems have been solved and the inviolability of the frontiers has been recognized can serve as good example for other continents. Indeed, life has become more tranquil here and there is greater stability in the development of international relations.

This does not mean, however, that Europe has no tasks before it in the practical application of the principle of inviolability of frontiers. One should not overlook the fact that, having revised their tactics and having changed their methods, the right-wing forces in the Federal Republic of Germany clinging to revanchist positions continue to attack the policy of normalizing relations with the socialist countries. The proponents of revanche from time to time come out with statements, reminiscent of the past, attacking, in some instances, the German Democratic Republic, or the other socialist countries. This, of course, does not in any way contribute to peace in Europe.

The genuine interest of all States participating in the European Conference—this was stated by their top representatives at the historic meeting in Helsinki—consists in developing their relations the way it was agreed upon and set forth in the Final Act. Peace and security in Europe is a common demand and, consequently, a common concern of all the 35 States participants in the Conference.

In the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation, and for the freedom and independence of nations the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party particularly singled out the task of working vigorously for the full implementation of the Final Act of the European Conference and for broader peaceful and mutually beneficial co-operation in Europe. This is the essence of the Soviet-European policy.

Mikhail LVOV,
writer on international affairs

EUROPE AFTER HELSINKI

The time which has elapsed since the signing of the Final Act is a brief span, of course, by historical standards. But sufficient to give a positive answer to the question of whether or not the Helsinki accords are having a favourable effect on interstate relations in Europe.

The philosophy of peace, peaceful coexistence, good neighbourliness, equality and mutual respect is penetrating ever deeper into the fabric of relations among the states which took part in the Conference. The realization is growing that in this day and age there can be no rational alternative to the policy of detente, that the declaration by the Conference participants of their intention to turn detente into a continuing and an increasingly viable and comprehensive process, universal in scope, is indeed an imperative of the time.

Political contacts between states are becoming ever broader. Top-level visits and talks on the key international issues are being complemented by a fast developing system of political consultations and contacts on a wide range of concrete questions. As a result, the states which participated in the Helsinki Conference are coming to know and under-

stand better one another's legitimate interests and aspirations and are consequently able to take fuller account of them in their foreign policy.

Hardly a week, or even a day, passes without some new bilateral agreements on trade and industrial, cultural, scientific and technical co-operation being concluded between states. These agreements are becoming ever more diversified and at the same time more fundamental: very often they are signed for five, ten and more years and not just for a year or two.

The vast potential of the positive impact the Helsinki accords have had on the situation in Europe is gradually being materialized to the benefit of the peoples. Summing up the results of the work done and outlining tasks for the future in his speech at the October 1976 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev said: "On the whole, the job of realizing the accords reached in Helsinki is now being tackled in scores and even hundreds of practical undertakings. They may not always be conspicuous, but they are part of Party and government activity of exceptional importance. And we Soviet people appreciate the efforts of all those who act in this direction. For it is our common cause, the cause of peace which is near and dear to every Soviet person."

It should be said, however, that there has never been and can never be any advance to positive aims in world politics without a struggle. This is especially evident at the present stage of international relations, at the stage of transition from the cold war and military and political confrontation to detente, peace and peaceful co-operation. It is, moreover, in a certain sense true that in world

politics, as in physics, every action brings forth a counteraction. The same may be said of the realization of the Helsinki accords.

The all-European Conference thoroughly prepared the political soil of Europe for the planting of the seeds of peace. The seeds have already sprouted, and the shoots are growing stronger day by day. In the hustle and bustle of political life, in the torrent of events, when it is at times difficult to discern changes, the contours of a new Europe—a Europe of security and co-operation—are beginning to emerge. Progressives and all sober-minded politicians are exerting every effort to make this process irreversible. But that does not suit the forces of imperialist reaction and militarism or revanchist circles. They did their best to prevent the convocation of the all-European Conference. Later they raised all sorts of obstructions. Now they are trying to check and even reverse the process of easing tensions and to muddy the pure waters of detente.

But everyone, apart from hardcore reactionaries, knows that it is impossible to cancel out the Final Act. It is in action and will remain operative. And so the opponents of stable peace in Europe have adopted a new tactic. They do not negate the results of the all-European Conference and do not ask their governments formally to denounce the Final Act. But they are doing everything in their power to neutralize its impact on the situation in Europe, to misrepresent some of its provisions and to foster disbelief in the feasibility of others.

That this is so is made all too obvious by the haste with which the NATO Council rejected out of hand the Warsaw Treaty countries' proposal to conclude a treaty whereby the parties would undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons

against each other and not to increase membership of their respective alliances. In the NATO countries themselves this haste is regarded as an indication of the reactionary and militarist circles' efforts to halt detente and of their fear of the effect the new major peace initiatives of the socialist countries may have on Western public opinion.

With the present alignment of the social and political forces in the world, the possibilities for launching crusades against the policy of detente and the Helsinki accords are none too great. Slander of the Soviet Union, the socialist system, and the foreign policy of the socialist countries was and remains the main weapon, one which the Committee for American-Soviet Relations recently qualified very aptly as misinformation and misleading rhetoric. This weapon is being used for all it is worth.

It is only natural for the man in the street in any country to be impressed by statements about a military threat, especially if they emanate from official sources. People want peace, they loathe war. This particularly applies to people living in Europe who remember only too well that the nazi aggression claimed millions of lives. That is why they feel uneasy when they hear about some country striving for military superiority. They may even begin to doubt the effectiveness and feasibility of the policy of international detente.

This is probably the effect certain Western quarters hoped for in launching their massive propaganda campaign about the alleged growing military potential of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. If one were to sum up all that is being said and written on this score, it would present a fearful picture indeed: the Soviet Union, it appears,

is fast deploying more and more new systems of nuclear weapons; it is increasing the number of its nuclear-armed ships in the world's seas and oceans; the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries are growing in strength almost daily and are being equipped with ever more powerful conventional weapons, with the stress laid on their offensive potential; and their military budgets are rapidly mounting. Dreadful, isn't it?

All these horrors, however, are pure figments of the imagination; passions are being deliberately whipped up.

The Soviet Union, it is alleged, is deploying new systems of nuclear weapons.

But who, if not the Soviet Union, is perseveringly striving for an agreement with the United States on the limitation of offensive strategic arms? Addressing the 25th CPSU Congress, General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev said: "Let me refer specifically to the current Soviet-US negotiations on further strategic arms limitation. We are holding them in an effort to effectuate the 1974 Vladivostok understanding and to prevent the opening of a new channel for the arms race, which would nullify everything achieved so far. An agreement on this issue would obviously be of very great benefit both for the further development of Soviet-US relations, for greater mutual confidence, and for the consolidation of world peace." This line of the Soviet Union was confirmed at the October 1976 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and in the speeches made by the Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev on January 18, March 21 and April 5, 1977. The Soviet side followed this line at the talks with US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in Moscow.

The Soviet Union is not confining its struggle for nuclear disarmament to the SALT talks with the United States. At the 31st UN General Assembly, it may be recalled, it submitted a memorandum on urgent measures for stopping the arms race and for disarmament. This important document contained concrete proposals regarding ways of ending the nuclear arms race, reducing and subsequently liquidating nuclear weapon stocks, prohibiting nuclear weapon tests, strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime, banning and destroying chemical weapons, prohibiting the development of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, as well as proposals on a number of other aspects of disarmament. The 31st Assembly resolutions on all these questions support the underlying ideas of the Soviet Union's proposals and stress the need for intensifying the talks at other forums and making them more productive.

The NATO countries, on the other hand, abstained from voting in most cases, thus withdrawing, as it were, from the struggle for disarmament and the elimination of the danger of nuclear war. They similarly avoided taking a definite stand on the General Assembly resolution on the Soviet Union's proposal to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

The Soviet Union, it is alleged, is deploying nuclear-armed ships in the world's seas and oceans.

But was it not the Soviet Union that proposed that those states which have no coastline on the Indian ocean and contiguous regions jointly undertake to reduce their military activity in this area, that the Soviet Union and the United States withdraw their nuclear-armed surface ships and submarines

from the Mediterranean, and that nuclear-free zones be established in different parts of the world? These proposals have been advanced by the Soviet Union and are backed by other socialist countries, while the United States and the other NATO countries are unwilling to discuss them.

The Warsaw Treaty states, it is claimed, are building up a military superiority in Europe.

What grounds are there for such claims? For three years now the Warsaw Treaty countries have been exerting efforts at the Vienna talks to achieve some progress in the urgent question of reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. In the course of these talks the socialist countries have submitted some very concrete proposals which in many respects take into account the views and considerations of the other parties to the talks, including proposals on the procedure, volume and stages of reduction of the armed forces and armaments. However, no constructive reply from the other side has been received.

The NATO countries insist on variants of reduction that would clearly give them unilateral military advantage. In fact, they themselves call their proposals "asymmetrical", i.e., altering the present balance of forces in the reduction area. Can anyone take such a "disarmament" scheme seriously? Until recently it was not clear who and what was behind the NATO countries' unwillingness to agree to a realistic military detente in Central Europe. The statement made on January 2, 1977 by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, has dispelled all doubts on that score. The decisive role is played by the policy pursued by certain West German quarters aimed

at preventing any reduction in the strength of the Bundeswehr and seeing to it that all the NATO countries strictly uphold this stand. Any other approach to the Vienna talks would be unacceptable to West Germany, Foreign Minister Genscher said.

Speaking of offensive potential, what if not a crude show of force were the 1975-76 NATO exercises over vast expanses from Norway to the Mediterranean Sea? Socialist countries of course also hold exercises to ensure the combat readiness of their armed forces, the standard of field training and the co-operation of the different arms and services. Since the Helsinki Conference major exercises were held twice in the Soviet Union ("Kavkaz" and "Sever", each involving some 25,000 officers and men) and once in Poland ("Shield-76", with 35,000 officers and men of the Warsaw Treaty Joint Armed Forces taking part). The NATO exercises in 1976 alone involved more than 250,000 officers and men and were staged with military-political aims that were clearly provocative and hostile towards the Soviet Union.

When these exercises were duly appraised politically by the press in the socialist countries, some leading NATO spokesmen struck a pose of injured innocence: hadn't they abided strictly by the Final Act of the all-European Conference and notified all the parties to the Helsinki accords of their military manoeuvres? Then why the accusation? Such statements were obviously intended for the gullible. The NATO countries did give notification of their manoeuvres and they cannot be accused of violating the procedure stipulated in the Final Act. But could such notification drown out the sabre-rattling? Does the Final Act absolve those whose actions threaten to disturb the peace of the European

nations if they have served prior notice of such a threat? Such manipulation with the Final Act provisions about confidence building is impermissible.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, it is said, are increasing their military budgets.

This simply does not tally with the facts. The share of military spending in the Soviet budget is decreasing year by year. So is the amount in absolute terms.

The US military budget, on the other hand, reached the colossal sum of 70-80 billion dollars several years ago. The columnist Art Buchwald then wrote rather caustically that it was easier for the Pentagon to get Congress to okay a weapon system costing tens of billions of dollars than one costing hundreds of millions because Congressmen had fallen out of habit of calculating in millions where military orders were concerned. Now the Pentagon has raised its budget to \$113 billion. The West European NATO countries are also increasing military spending under Washington's pressure.

If one were to try to sum up the results achieved to date in the struggle for the implementation of the accords reached at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the following three well-substantiated conclusions might be drawn:

Firstly, the Helsinki accords have indeed become the platform and programme of action in the promotion of co-operation among the participating states in the political, economic, cultural and other fields.

Secondly, realization of the Helsinki accords is proceeding successfully.

Thirdly, this process is encountering resistance, and there is no particular reason to expect that it will become any less in the near future.

How the future will shape up depends on a number of major factors. There is no doubt that the socialist countries' efforts to realize more fully the results of the all-European Conference will play a very important role. This policy of the socialist countries is being pursued purposefully and vigorously.

Of major significance, too, will be the efforts invested by the public forces in the European countries to deepen and extend detente and help realize the Helsinki understandings. These forces are impressive. Public polls and other forms of ascertaining public sentiment in different countries show that the vast majority of people are interested in further steps to strengthen European peace and realize the Helsinki understandings.

Much depends of course on the ruling circles and the governments of Western states. None of them opposes the Helsinki accords and the efforts to deepen detente. That is a major positive factor. Even the NATO Council session expressed the wish to see East-West relations "develop at a more satisfactory pace" and stated again the determination of their governments to comply with all the principles and provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

But one cannot help seeing that the governments of some Western countries tend to hesitate when it comes to the practical realization of the Helsinki accords. They also reveal a tendency to retard the solution of a number of questions relating to European co-operation, including that in the econo-

mic field, which follow directly from the Final Act. This applies, for instance, to such questions as the establishment of relations between the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community (Common Market) and the organization of all-European congresses on co-operation in power engineering, transport and protection of the environment.

The question is: will this hesitation and these decelerating tendencies grow under the pressure of the extreme reactionary, militaristic and revanchist forces or will they be overcome? This is not a rhetorical question. The leading statesmen of thirty-five countries met in Helsinki in 1975 to tackle a historic task—to strengthen peace in Europe. They proved equal to this task, and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has gone down in the history of peace-building on the continent.

It may confidently be said that the peoples, the present and future generations, will always remember those who, by their indefatigable efforts, made possible the convocation of the all-European Conference and ensured its success and who, having affixed their signatures to the charter of European security and co-operation, the Helsinki Final Act, are now working indefatigably to make the peace in Europe secure and indestructible. Who does not know that people in Europe and beyond its boundaries speak of CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev as the inspirer of the Helsinki Conference and architect of detente. Much has been and is being done for detente by the leaders of the other countries which participated in the all-European Conference. As for those who attach no value to their signature under the Final Act, they are likely to be soon forgotten. History's verdict is always right.

There is much work ahead, important work. The more confidently the forces that found a common language at the all-European Conference advance together, the more effective and tangible the results of this work will be. It will require ever new efforts, much perseverance and dedication to the cause of peace, but the cause is worth the effort.

DANGERS: SHAM AND REAL

Alarmed by the progress of detente in Europe, the forces of reaction and militarism have stepped up their activity, concentrating their efforts on a further whipping up of the arms build-up, which has already reached monstrous proportions.

"In the struggle for lasting peace," Leonid Brezhnev said in October 1976, "there is no task more important today than ending the arms drive initiated by the imperialist powers, and going over to disarmament." Hence the great urgency of the task of complementing political detente on the continent with military detente.

The solution of the problems of military detente in Europe calls for a careful analysis of the political situation, with due consideration for both the positive aspects of the situation and the existing difficulties and dangers. There are quite a few dangers, some of them real and others imaginary. A clear distinction must be drawn between them to see in a correct light the main issues of the struggle for peace and security in Europe.

To begin with the sham dangers. They are invented by those who still cling to the West's cold-war posturings, according to which the main danger-con-

jured up by massive propaganda—is said to be the threat of aggression which allegedly emanates from the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty states.

There is nothing new about this. Similar campaigns have been conducted ever since the birth of the Soviet state. As far back as 1919, Lenin exposed those who were "shouting about red militarism" as "political crooks who pretend that they believe this absurdity and throw charges of this kind right and left, exercising their lawyers' skill in concocting plausible arguments and throwing dust in the eyes of the masses."¹

In our time the same fraudulent tricks are practised to justify swollen military budgets, to advance partisan interests during political infighting, election campaigns in particular, to put pressure on the Left, and to promote "NATO unity", etc. All these ends are more easily achieved after scaring the Western public with the "menace from the East". Thus, rumours are put about that the Warsaw Treaty countries have achieved a military superiority over the West and threaten it with invasion. "Hordes" of tanks, it is said, could break through to the Rhine within 48 hours. These forces are alleged to be an "offensive formation", whereas the NATO forces are in a "defensive" position, which makes Western Europe particularly vulnerable.

What is the real position?

Naturally, the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO differ substantially from each other, as the two military alliances are mutually opposed in their class basis, political aims, doctrines, traditions and, accordingly, in their structures and the character of armaments.

¹ V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 66.

But essentially there is an approximate military equality between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO forces in Central Europe, a balance which represents stability. It will be noted that this circumstance is recognized in the West when realism rather than rhetoric is called for. Utterances to this effect were made, for instance, by ex-US President Ford and Chancellor Schmidt of the FRG at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

The claim that the Warsaw Treaty armies are poised for offence, and those of NATO only for defence, is equally false. One need only compare the policies pursued by the imperialist states and the socialist countries. The peace policy of the socialist countries prescribes purely defensive aims for the Warsaw Treaty armies.

The danger alarm is being sounded in the NATO countries about the superiority of the armies of Eastern Europe in the number of tanks. Highly contradictory and at times fantastic figures are cited. For instance, in October 1975 the West German *Frankfurter Rundschau* counted 13,500 tanks in Eastern Europe, as against 6,000 in the West. At the end of the same year another West German paper, *Bayern-Kurier*, discovered 48,100 tanks in the East and 11,200 in the West. It will forever remain a mystery how the "East" contrived to almost quadruple the number of its tanks within a couple of months.

On the other hand, the member-states of the Atlantic bloc are spending colossal means on the qualitative improvement of their military hardware, especially missiles and planes, assigning to them a number of functions of the ground forces. Preference is therefore given there to building planes, the cost of each of which exceeds that of a dozen

tanks. And emphasis is laid in the West on the development of the Navy, and on "tactical" nuclear weapons, vast stocks of which have been amassed along the frontiers of the socialist community. What counts, therefore, is not "armoured superiority", but strategic concepts and military programmes.

Throughout its history the Soviet state has been developing and modernizing its armed forces only because it has been compelled to do so. The arms drive brings no advantage to and is not desired by the Soviet Union. In order to build a communist society, the Soviet people strive to invest means in the tools of labour and not war. The USSR has repeatedly reduced its armed forces. It is also reducing its defence expenditure, which dropped from 7.8 per cent of the budget in 1976 to 7.2 per cent in 1977. The Soviet Union's initiatives aimed at achieving a military detente would make up a catalogue which no other power could produce. And the Soviet Union is prepared to put into practice, on a basis of reciprocity, the ideas pertaining to detente and disarmament in Europe.

But there are also real dangers in Europe. These stem from the functions of the military strength of imperialism, from its constant build-up and ever expanding character. The threat of force is woven into the fabric of the millennia-old political history of class society, and today it has been materialized at the level of nuclear and space technology. Many present-day Western leaders cannot see their way past this primitive, tenacious tradition.

Ever greater pressure is being put on governments and parliaments in the West in an effort to prove that, despite the profound economic difficulties being experienced by the capitalist world, the

allocation of enormous sums on the development of ever new "generations" of different types of weapons is a vital necessity. A feature of the current stage of the arms drive in the West is the tendency for the qualitative development of all means of warfare on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology.

The production of instruments of destruction has become the principal sphere of activity of multinational monopolies, which have subordinated to their interests a vast part of the national wealth and industrial and scientific potential of the capitalist world. These monstrous conglomerates, interlocked with the militarists, acquire a political and economic weight which enables them to exercise control over political decisions in vital spheres, and to force on Western governments an anti-detente policy.

NATO continues to profess the doctrine of "deterrence", according to which peace can only be guaranteed by military threat. Efforts to strengthen West European military integration never cease. Calls are made for NATO to exert military pressure on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Incessant attempts are being made to distort the letter and spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki and even to question its validity.

But despite all this, Europe has made an important stride in the direction of lasting peace in the past few years. As Leonid Brezhnev said at the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in the summer of 1976, "Europe has entered a fundamentally new epoch differing radically from all previous epochs."

Lasting peace and military detente have become a vital necessity for the people of Europe. There is

no choice in the matter. War must be ruled out from the life of our continent, and the European atomic ammunition depot cleared away, and for this an atmosphere of East-West trust must be created. The first steps in this direction have been taken already.

Peace and stability in Europe cannot be furthered by fomenting a war hysteria and misrepresenting the policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The ushering in of the new era in Europe is not helped by threats and the old propaganda bogey of the "Soviet menace". What is necessary is to recognize the real danger—the growing opposition to detente on the part of the forces of imperialist reaction and militarism.

In our time the attitude toward detente has become, to all intents and purposes, the acid test of the policy of every state and of every politician. Convincing proof of the striving for peace of the countries of the socialist community is their proposal that the 35 states which signed the Helsinki Final Act conclude a treaty containing an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another.

In the conditions of detente new qualitative aspects are being acquired by our economic relations with the developed capitalist countries, relations that can develop successfully on the basis of the principles set forth in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We shall continue the practice of signing large-scale agreements on co-operation in the building of industrial projects in our country and on the participation of Soviet organizations in the building of industrial enterprises in Western countries. Compensation agreements, especially those covering projects with a short recoupment period, various forms of industrial co-operation and joint research and development are promising forms of co-operation.

Of course, our trade and economic relations will develop faster with those countries which will show a sincere desire for co-operation and concern to ensure normal and equitable conditions for its development. Only in this case is it possible to maintain really broad and durable economic relations which will be reflected in our economic plans.

A. N. KOSYGIN

ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CMEA COUNTRIES AND THE CAPITALIST WORLD

The Helsinki Conference gave a new impetus to the development of every form of international co-operation. The Final Act of the Conference not only set out the main principles of mutually advantageous international co-operation, but indicated many concrete spheres where the pooling of efforts could bring appreciable benefits to the participating states, large and small.

The years since the Second World War have shown that the socialist states have everything they require for ensuring a high level of economic and technical progress. But they are also interested in extensive, long-term economic relations with other countries, those of Western Europe included. One indication of this interest is the proposal of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance to establish official relations with the European Economic Community. The EEC Council of Ministers has been given the draft of an agreement envisaging the creation of favourable conditions for promoting equitable co-operation between the two organizations and their member-states and setting out principles of mutual relations which should be ob-

served. The draft provides for an extension of trade based on the granting of most-favoured-nation status, promotion of mutually beneficial business contacts, organization of joint studies of major problems bearing on co-operation, the conclusion of bilateral and multilateral agreements between CMEA and Common Market countries, etc.

The socialist countries formally reaffirmed their readiness to engage in such co-operation in a declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee adopted at a session in Bucharest in November, 1976. In the same document they pointed to the need "to carry forward the elaboration and realization of measures for co-operation on a Europe-wide basis in the fields of environmental protection, transport and energy, in accordance with the Final Act of the All-European Conference. Considering past experience in international co-operation, specifically within the framework of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, it would be expedient in the near future to have these questions examined in a practical context at inter-state conferences of the nations of Europe." This new important initiative of the socialist community is a further constructive contribution by it to the materialization of the ideas of peaceful coexistence and co-operation of states with different social systems.

The readiness of the CMEA countries to co-operate with capitalist states is not a tactic of the moment. Their interest in large-scale, stable co-operation with these states stems from their long-term economic development plans, their programme for intensifying production and raising the effectiveness of investment, and their striving for a maximum satisfaction of the growing requirements of the population.

The other side, too, of course, gains substantially from economic co-operation. The growth of exports to the socialist countries is becoming an important factor in furthering technical progress, building up production capacities and ensuring employment in a number of traditional and new branches of industry in the West. The CMEA countries offer developed capitalist states important markets for the output of their metallurgical industry, for machine tools, chemical and petrochemical equipment, precision and electronic instruments, etc. Over the past few years exports to the CMEA countries have become the main stimulus to the development of and search for new technical solutions in a number of important branches of industry and large industrial associations of France, the FRG and Italy. For instance, participation in the construction of the giant enterprise on the Kama, which will be the world's biggest lorry factory, has put the production and technical capabilities of a number of Western companies to the test.

Again, in 1974, when the FRG was experiencing a recession, the iron and steel concern, Mannesmann, decided to build a new tube-making plant with an annual capacity of one million tons in order to fill large orders received from the Soviet Union. In the same year, thanks to large Soviet orders, the West German concern Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG was able to halt the scaling down of their production and began to take on additional personnel.

It has been estimated that 1,000 million dollars' worth of US exports to the Soviet Union would ensure the employment of more than 60,000 American workers. Since labour productivity in the ma-

majority of other capitalist countries is half of what it is in the US, on the average, the conclusion may be drawn that East-West trade ensures employment for at least two million people in the industrialized capitalist states, which is of no little importance at a time when the number of unemployed in these countries is officially said to exceed 15 million.

The capitalist states are objectively interested in increasing the import of raw materials and fuel from the socialist countries. Oil and petroleum products, gas, chemical raw materials, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, diamonds, chrome ore and manganese, timber, asbestos and other raw materials from the socialist countries figure prominently in international trade in these goods. The USSR has become an important supplier of enriched nuclear fuel. With the shortage of energy and raw materials being experienced by the capitalist world the socialist countries hold out the promise of playing an important role as suppliers of various needed goods.

The socialist countries are steadily consolidating their position in the markets of manufactured goods and industrial plant. According to assessments by the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the socialist countries have comparative advantages in the production of metallurgical equipment, iron and steel, turbines and generators, nuclear reactors and power stations, many types of lathes, precision engineering and optical articles, certain types of transportation facilities, printing equipment, fertilizer, and some other goods. There is an ever increasing demand among Western consumers for Soviet power and metallurgical equipment, motor vehicles and instruments; Czechoslovak textile equipment

and numerically-controlled machine tools; precision engineering and optical goods and printing equipment from the GDR; Hungarian pharmaceutical products, etc.

According to preliminary data, in 1975 trade between the CMEA countries and industrial capitalist states exceeded 50,000 million dollars.

Trade between the countries of the two world systems is growing rapidly also in terms of absolute figures, although allowance has to be made for the impact of inflation. During 1971-75, trade between the CMEA and Common Market countries roughly trebled and amounted to more than 80,000 million dollars. By 1990, East-West trade is expected to reach 240,000 million dollars (in 1974 prices), with "Greater Europe" accounting for three-quarters of it. By the same year, the CMEA countries' share of world trade will have reached at least 15 per cent.

Large joint projects are under way, such as a giant trans-European gas pipeline, 5,000 km long, with a carrying capacity of 30,000 million cubic metres of natural gas a year, in the construction of which major firms from the FRG, France, Italy and Austria are taking part; automotive plants in Togliatti, Izhevsk and on the Kama, built with the participation of American, West German, Italian and French companies; the construction of a fertilizer complex in the USSR with the participation of American firms; a large iron and steel plant near Kursk, being built with the participation of several West German firms; the agreement on the construction of a gas pipeline from Iran, which will pass through the USSR and Czechoslovakia to the FRG, Austria and France, to be built with the technical

assistance of the FRG, France and Austria; the participation of France in the construction of a pulp and paper mill in Ust-Ilimsk, and its projected participation in building an aluminium refinery; the participation of Japan in the development of coal mining and the timber industry in the Soviet Far East; the technical and financial co-operation of a number of Western companies in opening up rich copper ore deposits and in building oil refineries in Poland.

It is noteworthy that the number of long-term agreements on economic co-operation between socialist and capitalist countries for periods of up to ten years has exceeded that of ordinary trade agreements between them.

The number of agreements and long-term contracts at the level of enterprises and trading companies is also growing. These cover the production and marketing of manufactured goods and provide for the establishment of joint (for the most part, marketing) societies, trade in licences, joint survey, designing and construction work, joint research projects, etc. The number of such agreements between the socialist countries of Europe and firms in developed capitalist states has risen from 150 in 1968 to approximately 1,000 today, with almost one-third of them dealing with production based on specialization.

Important perspectives have opened up within the framework of co-operation on an all-European basis. Since Helsinki there have appeared such projects for joint efforts by European countries as the extension of the trans-European network of oil and gas pipelines; the linking of power systems and co-operation in nuclear power production; the mo-

derization of communications systems, including all types of transport; joint research efforts, including that in the field of space exploration and environmental protection. Future scientific and technological progress will be accompanied by new common problems, which will be easier for socialist and capitalist countries to solve if they have accumulated experience in joint endeavours.

For the potentialities of mutually beneficial co-operation between socialist and capitalist states to be realized it is necessary to overcome a number of serious obstacles. The chief of these is the discriminatory restrictions which capitalist countries practice with regard to socialist countries, and their striving to impose unequal terms upon the latter. For instance, as a result of the United States' refusal to grant the customary most-favoured-nation status to a number of socialist countries, the duty on their potential exports exceeds that imposed on imports from developed capitalist countries by 50 to 100 per cent. As a result of this discrimination the American market is made practically inaccessible to the output of most of the manufacturing industries of the socialist countries, and the development of trade with the United States is greatly impeded. Likewise, the discriminatory terms imposed by American banks for long-term credits to socialist countries make doubtful a number of major projects the mutual profitability of which has been confirmed by the specialists concerned of both sides.

Western economists estimate that in 1976-80 the European CMEA countries' purchases of manufactured goods in the West could reach 100,000 million dollars. It is to be expected that sooner or later common sense and realization of the need to reck-

on with the objective interests of the American people will prevail.

Certain obstacles to East-West economic co-operation are raised by the trade policies of the Common Market. The economic barriers erected by the EEC in the way of European co-operation have a wide diversity of forms, ranging from customs tariffs and a system of agrarian protectionism to non-tariff restrictions, many of which are directed specifically against socialist states.

It is often contended in the Western press that the development of all-European economic co-operation prevents the deepening of integration processes in Western Europe. That may be charitably described as a prejudiced way of posing the issue. What the interests of the peoples of Europe call for is not the counterposing of the EEC and the CMEA against each other, but the utilization of their possibilities for solving problems of all-European importance.

The CMEA and the EEC have many questions and spheres of activity which are of mutual interest.

Joint financing represents one of the most important elements of all-European co-operation. It would seem that, along with the use of traditional channels, the mobilization of means for promoting all-European co-operation will take the form of using new sources of financing. It is indicative, for instance, that in the last few years Hungary has floated several bonded loans on European financial markets. Of late the CMEA countries and their joint banking institutions have increased their activity on the Eurocurrency markets.

An extension of international co-operation on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in another country's internal affairs will be

highly instrumental in furthering detente, in consolidating peace and in ensuring the security of the peoples. Pursuing an active policy of the promotion of business relations with all states regardless of their social system, the socialist countries are making a worthy contribution to this historic process.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE BENEFICIAL TO BOTH SIDES

The realization of the accords reached at Helsinki presupposes the comprehensive development of economic, scientific and technical ties between the socialist countries and the leading capitalist states. There exist real material prerequisites for this.

Trade between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe is growing at a higher average annual rate than world trade as a whole. Three-quarters of all the foreign trade of the European CMEA countries with the capitalist world is with Western Europe. Between 1971 and 1975 trade between CMEA and Common Market countries rose by more than 150 per cent.

By 1975 the FRG's trade with socialist countries had grown by 39 per cent. West German firms are participating in more than 350 joint projects. By 1975 Austrian firms had concluded more than 90 co-operation agreements with concerns in the socialist countries. At present they have approximately 140 agreements on scientific and technical co-operation with organizations in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other socialist countries. In the words of Josef Meisl, Austria's Minister of Trade, Commerce and Industry, econo-

mic relations in Europe are today inconceivable without East-West co-operation. Western countries have concluded more than 160 industrial co-operation agreements with Hungary alone.

In 1975 the Hungarian foreign trade enterprise Mogürt and General Motors of the United States concluded an agreement on the establishment of trade and industrial ties, primarily in the field of motor vehicle manufacture. An agreement was also signed with Vauxhall, a British branch of General Motors. Having concluded an agreement on the mutual abolition of trade restrictions, customs tariffs included, Hungary and Finland are developing dynamic trade and economic relations. Equipment for power stations occupies an important place in Hungary's exports to Finland, while Finland's exports to Hungary include considerable quantities of woodworking and chemical equipment.

Bulgaria maintains fruitful co-operation links with firms and organizations in Western countries. The Bulgarian Farmakhim association co-operates with the Swiss firms Sandoz and Ciba-Geigy in the production of medicines from Swiss materials. Agreements on the production in Bulgaria of Astor cigarettes have been concluded with firms in the FRG. Metal-cutting machine tools bearing the Bulgarian trade-mark, Mashstroi, are exported to more than 50 countries, including the United States, the FRG and France.

In 1975 a Czechoslovak-West German agreement was signed on co-operation in industry, agriculture, construction, transport and communications, and specifically on the modernization, by joint efforts, of industrial facilities, the production and marketing of semi-manufactured and manufactured goods, and the exchange of patents and licences.

Poland co-operates with British firms in the production of tractors, in the designing, construction and modernization of coal mines, in ore mining, in accident prevention in the coal mining industry, in the processing of coal, and in the employment of computers in controlling production processes in the coal mining industry.

In January, 1976, at the third session of the GDR-Italy joint inter-governmental commission, a programme of joint work in the field of economic, industrial and technical co-operation between the two countries was signed.

Despite the US boycott, good progress attends the development of economic relations between Cuba and the capitalist countries. Over the past few years Cuba's trade with Canada has grown fivefold. The total volume of trade between the two countries has reached 180,500,000 dollars.

The Helsinki Conference paid special attention to the promotion of new forms of economic ties, in particular industrial co-operation. Going beyond the bounds of conventional trade, such co-operation involves joint production and marketing, the joint construction and modernization of enterprises, co-operation in the establishment of industrial complexes, exchange of technical documentation, patents and licences, joint industrial and technical research and development projects, and co-operation in the field of transport. The latter assumes special importance in the light of the linking, in the near future, of the Rhine with the Danube and the formation of a trans-European inland waterway 3,500 km long, from the Northern to the Black Sea. In this connection the agreement which the CMEA and the Danube Commission signed last year will have a significant role to play. There are also great prospects

for extending ties on an all-European basis in the sphere of air transport.

Economic, scientific and technical co-operation between the socialist states and the developed capitalist states is mutually advantageous and necessary for both sides. According to John Hobbs, Chairman of the North of England Development Council, every 5,000 pounds' worth of Soviet orders placed with enterprises in that part of England ensures the employment of one person for the course of one year. There is more than commercial benefit to be had from Soviet orders, therefore.

For their part, the socialist countries are able to accelerate the development of their raw material sources, build new production facilities and introduce technological improvements. Possibilities exist for carrying out joint large-scale long-term projects by the socialist and capitalist countries. The nearly 150 Soviet-American projects of this kind make nonsense of the claim that the socialist system of planning and its monopoly of foreign trade is a hindrance to the co-operation of capitalist firms with socialist economic organizations.

For the Soviet Union, just as for the other socialist countries, detente, with its concrete manifestations, is not something transient dictated by short-term considerations, but a firm and rational policy that benefits all. This is clearly spelt out in Leonid Brezhnev's report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU and in the "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980" adopted by the Congress. As Leonid Brezhnev put it, "We see in external economic ties an effective means of helping to realize our goals both in the political and economic spheres."

Large-scale international co-operation in various forms accords with the interests of all states; it constitutes the material basis of peaceful coexistence, contributing to the further relaxation of international tension and the preservation of peace on our planet.

Vladimir SUSHKOV,
Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade

NEW FORMS OF EAST-WEST TRADE AND ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

Over the last few years the Soviet Union's trade and economic relations with many countries, particularly France, the FRG, Italy, Finland, the United States and Japan, have entered a new stage which is characterized by a move toward large-scale long-term co-operation. The basis for such co-operation is provided by programmes for the development of trade and economic, industrial, scientific and technical co-operation, and by long-term agreements which have been concluded recently with the USSR by a number of governments.

The results of the Helsinki Conference provided an impetus to the further development of large-scale long-term co-operation between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries. The post-Helsinki period has seen the signing of a ten-year programme of economic and industrial co-operation between the USSR and Italy, a Soviet-Italian agreement on economic co-operation for 1975-79, an agreement on the granting by Italy of a long-term bank credit to the Soviet Union, Soviet-French agreements on co-operation in the fields of power production, civil aviation and the aircraft industry, a ten-year Soviet-Canadian inter-governmental agreement to facilitate

economic, industrial, scientific and technical co-operation, and similar agreements with Cyprus and Portugal. All of them conform to the letter and spirit of the Final Act. There has been a vigorous development in the past few years of economic co-operation in the form of compensation agreements, under which the Soviet Union receives long-term credits, licences, equipment, machines and material for the construction of large industrial projects, to be repaid, on a long-term basis (usually 10-15 years), with a proportion of the output of the new enterprises so as to cover the original credits and interest. The enterprises thus built are wholly Soviet-owned. The proportion of their production delivered by way of compensation amounts, as a rule, to between 20 and 30 per cent.

On this basis the Soviet Union is purchasing equipment and materials for more than 50 projects in the chemical, petrochemical, oil and gas, timber and woodworking, iron and steel and coal mining industries to a total value of several thousand million roubles.

Some examples of this form of co-operation with France, for instance, which is participating actively in joint large-scale projects, are:

- the delivery to the USSR of equipment, pipes and materials for main gas pipelines against bank credits and the purchase, on a long-term basis, of Soviet natural gas;

- an agreement on the delivery to the USSR of equipment for the Ust-Ilim pulp and paper plant with an annual output of 500,000 tons, and on the purchase of pulp from the USSR;

- delivery to the USSR of equipment for the production of polystyrene and styrene and delivery of polystyrene to France;

- delivery to the USSR of equipment for plants to produce ammonia;
- a large-scale contract for the delivery to the USSR of equipment and pipes for the Togliatti-Gorlovka-Odessa ammonia pipeline, etc.

Many large-scale projects have been undertaken jointly with the FRG. Among them is an agreement on co-operation in the construction in the city of Oskol of an electro-metallurgical plant to produce annually 5 million tons of iron-rich pellets obtained by the method of direct reduction, and about 2.7 million tons of high-grade sheet and bar iron. Besides, the Soviet Union has purchased from several West German firms equipment for plants to produce polyvinylchloride resin, vinylchloride and high-pressure polyethylene, and signed contracts for the delivery of these products by way of compensation.

Compensation agreements with Italy are also being implemented successfully. More than 900 million dollars' worth of equipment and materials are being delivered to the USSR on credits furnished by leading Italian banks. Provision is made for the delivery of Soviet output to Italy in return. In September, 1975, the Italian side provided an additional credit of 900 million dollars, which will serve for the further development of large-scale co-operation with Italy.

The Soviet Union and Japan are co-operating along similar lines. The two countries have successfully implemented the first general agreement on the delivery, on credit, of Japanese equipment, machines, materials and other goods for the development of the timber resources of the Soviet Far East and on the delivery of Soviet timber to Japan. This agreement was signed by ten Soviet foreign

trade organizations and 14 Japanese trading and industrial firms.

The mutual benefit of such an arrangement having been proved, Soviet organizations have concluded another general agreement with Japanese firms on co-operation in the development of timber resources, which provides for a volume of deliveries more than three times greater than under the first agreement. A special credit agreement on financing Japanese exports to the USSR was signed.

Development of the South Yakut coal basin is the largest Soviet-Japanese co-operation project. The general agreement on this co-operation provides for the purchase in Japan, on credit from its Export-Import Bank, of large consignments of machinery and equipment and the delivery to Japan, over a long term, of coking coal.

Joint geological prospecting for oil and gas on the sea shelf is another interesting and promising sphere of co-operation. The USSR and Japan already have an agreement on joint prospecting work off Sakhalin Island.

A number of large-scale deals have been entered into with American firms. Among these, mention can be made of the construction of a mineral fertilizer complex and co-operation in building a Centre for International Trade and Scientific and Technical Ties in Moscow.

The Soviet Union would like to broaden co-operation with the United States on a compensation basis, and American firms also express their interest in such co-operation. According to preliminary estimates by Soviet economists, in 1976-80 mutual deliveries under compensation agreements and contracts will represent a stable and growing element of Soviet-American trade and economic ties. The

total volume of such deliveries, they say, could amount to about 38 per cent of all trade between the USSR and the United States in the current five-year period. These data show that, despite the generally known obstacles (the refusal by the US to grant most-favoured-nation status to the USSR in trade, and the absence of new credits from the Export-Import Bank of the United States), this form of economic co-operation could gradually become an important element of Soviet-American trade as well.

Certain progress has been achieved in talks with a number of American firms and banks on co-operation in the chemical and automotive industries, in geological prospecting on the Sakhalin shelf, and in additional surveys of Yakut gas deposits. The Soviet side is also examining interesting offers from American firms which could become the basis for agreements envisaging new forms of co-operation.

The production capabilities of the USSR and the USA enable them to think already now of organizing industrial co-operation. The Soviet side thinks it would be logical to examine first of all forms of industrial co-operation that would make it possible to balance the mutual accounts.

Not without interest in this respect are some proposals concerning United States' participation in the construction of new enterprises in the USSR.

One American company has offered to build a plant to manufacture automobile components according to its designs, with its services to be repaid with deliveries of finished products. The firm guarantees employment of the latest technology.

A proposal has been made to establish a special firm to carry goods between the USSR and the United States and the goods of third countries. The setting up of joint Soviet American concerns to

market Soviet goods and provide services is one of the possible forms of co-operation:

The development of trade could be promoted also by long-term (up to five years) contracts for the export of Soviet goods to the United States and the import by the Soviet Union, to the same value, of American goods. Such contracts would greatly facilitate the planning of business ties for both sides.

As regards multilateral co-operation, the Soviet side would like to begin with working out joint practical recommendations and models of possible multilateral co-operation based on already available experience.

Good opportunities for multilateral co-operation have opened up in connection with the signing of a credit agreement between the USSR and Canada. Thought can now be given to the possibility of tri-lateral trade and economic co-operation between Soviet, American and Canadian firms and organizations.

It goes without saying that all forms of co-operation, new ones included, must develop on a mutually beneficial basis and help realize national economic development programmes.

FOR THE HEALTH OF MAN

The tremendous amount of work our government is doing to carry out the Leninist foreign policy, and the Programme for Peace adopted by the CPSU are having a highly beneficial influence on the development of international medical contacts.

The humane character of medicine, which is called upon to protect people from suffering, restore their health and extend their life-span, together with the tasks facing medical science throughout the world, create common ground on the basis of which medical workers in different countries can pool their efforts and work together to resolve their problems.

Our co-operation with other countries in the sphere of health protection and medical science is directed first and foremost at resolving problems connected with cardio-vascular diseases, oncology, environmental protection (in so far as it concerns medicine), virusology, transplantation of organs and tissues, healthy working conditions and the prevention of occupational diseases.

The Ministry for Public Health of the USSR has for a long time maintained varied ties with the relevant ministries in the fraternal socialist coun-

tries. These contacts encompass practically every area of the public health service and medical science.

Co-operation with capitalist countries is developing by way of short-term inter-governmental agreements (with the United States, Britain, France, Italy and Finland), and within the framework of inter-governmental agreements on scientific, technical and cultural co-operation (with Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, etc.).

On the whole the joint work of medical scientists from various countries is making rapid strides.

Cardio-vascular diseases take the heaviest toll of human life in all the economically advanced countries. The agreement between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the United States of America on Co-operation in the Field of Medical Science and Public Health, signed in Moscow in May, 1972, lists cardio-vascular diseases among the most important targets of Soviet-American medical research.

The first results of this co-operation are very encouraging. Under the programme of research into the causes of atherosclerosis, scientists have obtained important data on the "high risk factor" involved in fat metabolism. Every country has its own special features in matters of diet, eating habits, life-styles, hereditary distinctions associated with metabolic processes, etc. The so-called lipid research centres set up in Moscow and Leningrad have revealed a higher concentration of non-atherosclerosis-forming fats in the blood of Soviet men than in the blood of American men, and more atherosclerosis-forming fats (high risk factors) in the blood of American men. Further research will make it possible to draw important practical conclusions from these

interesting findings for preventive treatment of atherosclerosis.

Working jointly with American scientists, we have developed a programme for examination and clinical observation of patients suffering from ischemia of the heart.

To prevent myocardial infarction, it is very important to make a detailed study of the intimate processes taking place in the heart muscle. Together with American scientists, our scientists have been doing research in various aspects of metabolism, including the passage of energy through the cells of the heart muscle. In this connection they have established that some medicines, such as strophanthin-K, for example, reduce the affected area of the muscle tissue. Thus doctors have a remedy that can forestall the more dangerous forms of this dangerous disease.

Doctors the world over are concerned with the increasing number of sudden deaths from heart disease. It often happens that people die before they can receive medical assistance. In this connection the Soviet Union and the United States have done a great deal of valuable research on the incidence of cardiac rhythm disorders in both countries, which, it is hoped, will improve the emergency services and save many lives.

Efforts are being made to counter the undesirable effects of cardio-vascular treatment. For example, in surgical operations on the heart, it is necessary to administer copious blood transfusions which sometimes induce serious disorders, such as certain kinds of kidney trouble.

Soviet and American specialists are taking part in conferences and symposiums to discuss new methods of forestalling and preventing such diseases.

In 1976 we began, jointly with our British colleagues, a programme of research into techniques of administering emergency aid in cardio-vascular and other cases.

Together with French scientists we are developing techniques employing mathematical models and computers for obtaining the health ratings of a patient, for working out individual treatment schedules, and for keeping him under observation during the operation. Soviet and French scientists have also been doing joint research on the possibilities of developing electronic equipment for round-the-clock observation of patients with various forms of cardiac insufficiency, and are developing special electrical heart stimulators.

As can be judged from the above, we have been doing a vast amount of joint work with scientists from different countries for the benefit of the whole world.

Oncology is another important area of co-operation between medical workers in the Soviet Union and other countries.

The USSR and the USA have been conducting joint research in the area of the chemical therapy of tumours, including the treatment of cancer of the lung, some melanomas, and cancer of the mammae. These joint Soviet-American efforts have been summed up in a monograph *Methods of Development of New Anti-Cancer Drugs*, which will soon come off the press. In practical terms, our two countries have exchanged hundreds of medicinal preparations.

A research endeavour on the problem of immunology of cancer has been carried out.

Another field of research is tumour virusology. Here Soviet medical workers have obtained a virus

from monkeys inoculated with the blood of people who have contracted leukemia. This new virus is now under study. Work is continuing in the field of basic research on the mechanism of genetic changes induced by cancer-producing chemical agents, viruses and anti-tumorigenic preparations.

Organizational work is nearing completion in the field of cancer epidemiology for a programme of joint research conducted by the Soviet Union and the United States. Both sides have decided to concentrate their efforts on research in the field of the epidemiology of cancer of the mammary gland.

"Cancer control and cancer centres" is still another theme of research by Soviet and American scientists.

Oncology is also an important field of co-operation between Soviet and French scientists, who are currently studying the ultra-structure and histochemical properties of tumorous cells, the immediate causes of the disease, and the efficacy of new methods of treatment.

Fruitful contacts are developing with oncologists from Italy and a number of other countries. In many areas of oncology co-operation is developing on a multilateral basis under the auspices of the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Union against Cancer, and the International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC).

Influenza epidemics, which erupt from time to time, are causing concern throughout the world. Soviet medical workers have been co-operating with medical workers in other countries in the study of pandemics. This has proved to be an area of productive and broad co-operation both within the framework of the World Health Organization, and also on a bilateral basis with scientists in the United

States, France and Great Britain. Information, strains of viruses, reagents, and details of methods of virus examination are exchanged. The mutation of influenza viruses, preventive and treatment methods, new methods of clinical treatment of this disease, questions relating to the standardization of vaccines to prevent the spread of influenza, and the role played by migrant birds in spreading epidemics are being studied.

Among the tasks of international co-operation listed in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference is the study of contemporary problems of pediatrics, gerontology and the organization of medical service. Soviet scientists pay close attention to the experience of their counterparts from other countries, and they apply everything of interest that they consider practicable. As for the Western countries using Soviet experience, they often come up against insurmountable difficulties, since the Western system of health service is based on private medical practice. The achievements of the Soviet public health service in the preventive treatment of cardio-vascular and oncological diseases have been widely recognized. The population of our country is provided with comprehensive, readily available specialized medical assistance, which is an essential part of our public health system. Soviet achievements in such important fields as emergency medical aid, neuro-surgery, ophthalmology, mother-and-child care, and rheumatology are also widely recognized.

Detente has created limitless possibilities for expanding medical contacts. Every year more and more Soviet medical specialists go abroad on lecturing tours. Many of them are invited to do joint research work, study medical experience, and take part in scientific conferences in other countries.

Thousands of foreign medical workers come to the Soviet Union every year to familiarize themselves with the organization of the Soviet medical service, to do research at Soviet medical establishments, to meet their counterparts and take part in scientific conferences.

International ties in the field of public health and medical science are getting stronger with every passing year. We are always ready to share the results of our joint work with all countries and with the World Health Organization, for this co-operation is of great benefit to all nations.

In order to create an atmosphere of trust among states, so necessary for a lasting peace, peoples must get to know and understand each other better. This is the starting point from which we approach all cultural exchanges and human contacts.

And how do things stand in this area? We in the Soviet Union consider it important that our people know more about other peoples' past and present, know more about their culture so they can respect other countries' history and achievements.

That is why the Soviet state widely encourages cultural exchanges—consolidating them by inter-governmental agreements and organizing more every year. Today our country has cultural relations with 120 countries. In keeping with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, we have adopted additional measures that will lead to more exchanges of books, films and works of art. As is known, the other socialist countries which attended the European Conference also take the same position on these issues.

As for the capitalist countries, we have heard more than enough splendid words about exchanges of cultural values, but there has been precious little when it comes to real action.

On the whole, people in socialist countries know much more about life in the West than the working people in the capitalist countries know about socialist reality. What are the reasons for this? The main reason lies in the fact that the ruling class in the bourgeois countries is not interested in having their countries' working people learn the truth about the socialist countries first hand, about their social and cultural development, about the political and moral principles of citizens in a socialist society.

L. I. BREZHNEV

THE "THIRD BASKET" OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

The time that has elapsed since the successful conclusion of the European Security Conference has fully confirmed the tremendous importance of the agreements signed at Helsinki for the realization of the policy of peaceful relations and co-operation between states. The conference made it clear once again that the consideration and solution of complex international problems by all the interested parties on the basis of equality is both possible and useful. It opened new vistas for the further consolidation of peace and security and for better relations between all the countries of the continent.

Considerable success has already been achieved in the implementation of the Helsinki accords. At the same time the success of detente has caused anxiety in the camp of reaction and militarism and has stirred into action those who would like to drag Europe and the whole world back to the days of the cold war. The resistance of these forces to detente takes different forms. For example, in spite of the numerous declarations of intent made by the leaders of Western states to regard the Final Act as one indivisible document, many Western political figures and the mass media of their countries

have focused their attention primarily on the provisions relating to the humanitarian sphere, although these provisions form only an element of the Helsinki accords. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that it is precisely the first sections of the Final Act—relating to questions of political and economic co-operation and to measures on military detente—that contain the basic principles on the faithful observance of which the peaceful future and progress of mankind primarily depend, the capitalist press is trying hard to create the impression that the realization of the Helsinki accords lies solely in the humanitarian sphere. Moreover, Western propagandists and some political leaders do not hesitate to interfere directly in the internal affairs of the USSR in flagrant contravention of the provisions of the Final Act.

At the same time the Western press is trying to hush up the facts concerning the true state of affairs with regard to international co-operation in the humanitarian sphere. However, if one takes an unbiased view of the situation one will see that it is the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that are not only fulfilling the provisions of the Final Act but are far ahead of the capitalist states in matters of expanding international co-operation in this field.

To give the reader a clear picture of how the provisions of the Final Act on these questions are being put into practice, we propose to start with questions relating to the circulation of printed matter.

Factual statistics show that the leading countries of the West import from the USSR a great deal less literature and periodicals than the USSR imports from them. The real reason for this is primarily the desire of the Western countries to limit the spread among their people of information about the achieve-

ments of the USSR and about the aims of Soviet foreign and domestic policy. This can clearly be seen in a number of legislative acts, legal regulations and rules operating in the countries of the West. For example, the United States has a law requiring that firms doing business with Soviet book distributors and other organizations register with the authorities as agents of a foreign power. These firms are required regularly to submit to the Department of Justice the names of their employees and the titles of imported publications, together with detailed accounts of the sale of books and periodicals.

The regulations to this effect in Holland and the practice concerning the dissemination of information by foreign organizations in that country clearly reveal differential treatment of the information that comes from different countries.

A similar situation obtains in many other countries of the West.

In this connection it is interesting to note the activities of some radio stations in Europe broadcasting in foreign languages. The Final Act states that radio information should promote understanding between the peoples and serve the objectives specified at the conference. One paragraph of the Act reads: "The participating States will refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating State, regardless of their mutual relations."

It is all the more surprising that, after the participating nations assumed such commitments, the notorious broadcasting stations, "Radio Liberty" and "Radio Free Europe", are continuing to operate on the continent, despite the fact that their very

existence contravenes the objectives that the conference set for the mass media, for journalists and newsmen.

Set up in the years of the cold war, these two radio stations are still being used in the same manner, serving the objectives of the forces which openly opposed the holding of the European security conference, and which are now obstructing the implementation of its decisions. No less surprising is the fact that these Munich-based radio stations are financed by official departments of one of the participating nations, and another participating country has allowed them to use its territory and has issued them with broadcasting licences.

Despite the formal reorganization of the structure of these radio stations, they are in fact organs of the US Central Intelligence Agency, which directs their propaganda and intelligence activities. This was recently confirmed in exposés which revealed to the world public their true character as international agents-provocateur and spies. In a letter circulated among the embassies of the participating countries in Vienna, Dr. Emil Hoffmann, a West German writer on political affairs and legal expert, points out that the conclusion one inevitably arrives at upon careful examination of the subversive activities of these radio stations, from the point of view of international law and the interests of East-West detente, is that they violate the commitments binding on all countries and concerning one of the fundamental principles of this law, namely non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Nevertheless, the US Senate, in 1976, approved the allocation of 58.3 million dollars (five million dollars more than originally asked for) to cover the expenses of the two Munich stations.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, said that the very existence of radio stations dubbing themselves "Liberty" and "Free Europe" and at the same time engaging in subversive activities, poisons the international atmosphere and challenges the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki accords. The Soviet Union demands that the odious activities of these nests of espionage and subversion be stopped once and for all.

Broadcasts which come from certain government-operated radio stations in Western countries, and which persistently distort the facts about life in the Soviet Union and about the principles and objectives of the domestic and foreign policy of the socialist countries, also contravene the provisions of the Final Act. All told, forty foreign radio stations broadcast in 25 languages spoken in the Soviet Union, for a total of 250 hours a day. Some of these stations are unceasingly interfering in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union, as is witnessed by the fact that their favourite theme is "Soviet dissidents".

Another such case is the RIAS radio station in West Berlin. For example, on January 15, 1976, it broadcast the following commentary concerning the draft documents discussed at the 9th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany: "No SUPG member will need to read all the twelve pages... He will get a concise synopsis of them from us to supply him with some arguments to use in his party cell." Some statements broadcast over the ZDF-Magazin TV programme in the Federal Republic of Germany can rightly be interpreted as open interference in the affairs of the German Democratic Republic, or even seditious propaganda against that

state. In one of its broadcasts, Dr. Gerhard Loewenthal, one of the TV company's leading lights, advised his listeners in the German Democratic Republic how to put pressure on state bodies and to put forward "demands" concocted in the Federal Republic. Dr. Loewenthal himself admitted that this action was directed against the political system in the German Democratic Republic.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Soviet Union has no radio stations set up on the territory of other countries and broadcasting to foreign listeners, that Soviet radio has never even attempted to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries and peoples, that it gives an abundance of information about the life and work of the Soviet people, and that, abiding by the rules of international propriety, Soviet broadcasts never make any personal attacks on foreign leaders, etc. In other words, radio broadcasts from the Soviet Union are designed to promote mutual understanding and friendship between nations in line with the provisions of the Helsinki Declaration.

In accordance with its pledges as set down in the Final Act, the Soviet Union has taken a number of constructive measures to improve conditions of work for foreign journalists. Soon after the conference, the journalists from a number of Western countries permanently accredited in the Soviet Union were given multiple-use visas on the basis of reciprocity.

Also, some of the restrictions on travel by foreign journalists about the Soviet Union have been lifted, as stipulated in the appropriate provision of the Helsinki charter which binds the participating countries to "ease, on a basis of reciprocity, procedures for arranging travel by journalists of the participating States in the country where they are exercising

their profession." It should be pointed out that all these measures have been taken by the Soviet Union unilaterally, which makes the discriminatory actions against Soviet journalists particularly reprehensible. For example, the refusal of the Italian authorities to issue visas to Soviet journalists who were going there to cover the recent general election clearly contradicted the provisions of the Helsinki act, and was, unfortunately, by no means an isolated instance of such discrimination.

It would be wrong to think that the efforts directed at creating better conditions for foreign journalists accredited in Moscow have been made only in connection with the commitments assumed at Helsinki. Measures to this effect were taken earlier with a view to providing foreign journalists with a maximum of information about the Soviet Union so they could have a true picture of the USSR to present to the people of their own countries.

Moscow is one of the biggest centres of accreditation of foreign journalists in the world. There are 267 foreign correspondents representing 180 news agencies, radio and television companies, newspapers and magazines in 46 countries registered with the Press Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the USSR. During state visits to the Soviet Union by foreign leaders, and also when important functions are being held here, the number of foreign correspondents increases sharply. For example, in the spring of 1976, about 150 foreign journalists came to Moscow to cover the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

In 1975 alone, the press department gave more than 90 press conferences and talks for foreign journalists, an average of more than three every two weeks, on questions of Soviet foreign and domestic

policy. Many more measures have been taken to enable foreign correspondents to go to various parts of the country and to visit national construction projects, factories and collective farms, where they can see at first hand how Soviet people live and work. In 1976, 34 group tours and 766 individual trips about the Soviet Union were organized for foreign journalists. They visited Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Estonia, the central sections of the Baikal-Amur railway line now under construction in Siberia, the Irkutsk region, the polar research station North Pole-23, the northern areas of Yakutia, the cities of Norilsk (in Siberia) and Togliatti (on the Volga). Meetings with representatives of different departments, institutions and ministries represent another important source of information for foreign correspondents, and the procedure of organizing such meetings was recently simplified considerably.

The provisions of the Final Act concerning cultural exchange fully accord with the policy that the Soviet Union has unswervingly adhered to over the entire period of its existence. In Moscow, for example, foreign actors, musicians and singers and other performing groups give an average of two performances a day. Plays by foreign authors are staged in all cities of the Soviet Union. Soviet audiences see up to thirty plays by American authors a year, whereas American theatres do not stage any plays at all by Soviet authors. They put on only three or four plays by Russian authors and these date back to before the revolution. A BBC commentator recently admitted that the Soviet Union brings out many more novels and plays by modern foreign authors than any Western country does modern Soviet books, and that in Moscow, it

is often much easier to see a Western film than it is to see a Soviet film in London. This commentator also noted that by no means all the good Soviet films reach the West.

A collateral of cultural exchange is co-operation and exchange in the field of education, including the study of foreign languages. As the Final Act states, the participating states should "encourage the study of foreign languages and civilizations as an important means of expanding communication among peoples for their better acquaintance with the culture of each country."

Even before the Helsinki accords were signed, a great deal of work had been accomplished in our country in this sphere. For instance, in 1976-1977 English was being taught to 11.1 million school pupils, German to 12.5 million and French to 2.4 million. Altogether, eight foreign languages are taught in Soviet schools: English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Arabic, Hindi, and Chinese. There are 116 foreign-language teacher-training institutes in this country. In addition to that our universities have 60 foreign-language teacher-training departments.

Western countries are far behind the USSR in foreign-language teaching, and especially in the teaching of Russian, in spite of the fact that people throughout the world are becoming increasingly interested in studying this language. This was pointed out by the Russian Language Society in France in a statement published in January, 1977. Speaking of the inadequate attention being paid in France to the teaching of Russian, the authors of the statement noted that Russian language publications hold second place in the world. About one-third of

all publications in the fields of science and technology, and about fifty per cent of all publications in physics and medicine come out in Russian. The fact that only 0.4 per cent of French schoolchildren are studying Russian is, in the final analysis, to the detriment of scientific research being done in France itself, as by no means all the results of scientific work in the Soviet Union reach French scientists in time to be of use to them.

In general, the teaching of Russian in schools in the West is done on a very small scale. In 1973-1974, the Russian language was taught to 130,000 people in the United States, 31,000 in West Germany, 28,000 in Britain, 32,000 in France, and 3,200 in Italy (these figures include all categories of Russian-language students, including school pupils and students at day-time and evening departments of colleges and universities). One is forced to conclude that it is not the Soviet Union that is against foreign languages and is failing to promote their study.

The Soviet Union is successfully carrying out other commitments concerning co-operation in the sphere of education. Every year Soviet universities and colleges expand their international contacts. At present more than 44 thousand foreign students are studying at Soviet colleges and universities. The Soviet Union annually sends more than 17 thousand professors, teachers, post-graduates and college students to other countries for training, for taking part in scientific conferences and symposiums, and also for doing teaching work, studying the organization of education and new methods of teaching, etc. And every year as many foreign students, teachers and professors come to this country.

The section of the Final Act devoted to co-opera-

tion in the humanitarian sphere gives prominence to contacts between people.

Capitalist propaganda has invented a myth about "a closed society". It falsely alleges that the socialist countries shun contacts with other countries, that they do not want to exchange information or develop contacts between people. At the same time, the Western propagandists disregard the obvious violations of the relevant provisions of the Final Act by the governments of certain Western states. Where is the much-vaunted "impartiality" of the "independent" capitalist mass media? They cannot deny the facts, so suppress them. In May, 1976, the US authorities refused to issue entry visas to a Soviet trade-union delegation which had been invited by the West-Coast trade unionists. This action was in defiance of the fundamental principles of the Helsinki Final Act and existing Soviet-American agreements. Regrettably, the refusal to issue visas to Soviet trade-union delegations has become very nearly standard diplomatic practice in the United States. By contrast, Soviet trade unions played host to 980 trade-union and workers' delegations from other countries in 1975. In the same year the Soviet Union returned these visits by sending 750 delegations to these countries.

These are only a few facts illustrating the extent to which there has been progress in carrying out the Helsinki accords. They show, among other things, that, in spite of all their talk about the usefulness of the agreements reached in Helsinki, some Western participants in the European security conference have come far short of honouring the clearly formulated commitments contained in the Final Act. As for the socialist states, their conscientious fulfilment of the Helsinki accords serves as the best

proof of the responsible attitude of their leaders to their commitments and to their duty to the peoples of the world. The socialist countries firmly believe that the effectiveness of the accords reached at Helsinki depends largely on how consistently and conscientiously all the participating states adhere to the ten principles they arrived at in Helsinki and how effectively they carry out all the provisions of the Final Act, provisions which form one indivisible entity. This effectiveness will be all the greater, the more consistently the participating countries continue their efforts to strengthen European security and to develop their co-operation on the basis of equality and in the spirit of the accords they adopted in Helsinki.

Boris STUKALIN, Chairman,
USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses,
Polygraphy and Bookselling

BOOKS SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE

In the Helsinki Final Act, which contains an all-round programme for the development of equal and mutually advantageous international co-operation, an important place is given to promoting closer ties between nations in the cultural sphere, improving the exchange of information so as to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding.

Book publishing plays an important role in putting detente into effect. Books have always been the greatest means of mass dissemination of culture, scientific knowledge and the experience accumulated by peoples through the ages. Today a particular responsibility rests with those who put out and distribute printed matter, for the mass media are increasingly influencing public opinion.

The content of the work carried on by the Soviet press, radio and television fully conforms to the high aims set out in the Final Act of the conference in Helsinki. In these spheres of international co-operation, as in all other spheres, our country is consistently implementing the agreements that were reached. In keeping with the decisions of the European Conference, the USSR has taken further steps

to increase the exchange of books, films and works of art with other countries.

For a more effective implementation of the Helsinki agreements special items encouraging mutual publication of books have been added to inter-state agreements recently concluded by the Soviet Union. Exchanges of book exhibitions have increased, as has the number of translators and editors sent to improve their skill to other countries and received in the Soviet Union. The State Committee for Publishing Houses, Polygraphy and Bookselling has signed protocols with several publishers' associations and numerous publishing firms in capitalist and developing countries for the purpose of increasing the volume of translated literature on a mutual basis, and on other aspects of publishing and distributing books.

Big publishing companies in the West which are increasing mutually advantageous business contacts with the Soviet foreign-trade corporation Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga and the Copyright Agency of the USSR include the Macmillan Company, the Plenum Publishing Corporation, John Wiley and Sons, Inc. and Grolier Incorporated (USA); Maxwell (Britain); C. Bertelsmann Verlag (FRG); Amilcaro Pizzi (Italy); Otava (Finland); Iwanami Shoten and Sogakukan Publishing Company (Japan).

For instance, the translation of the 3rd edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, now already in progress, will be achieved through the co-operation of the Soviet publishing agency with its partners in the USA; in 1975-1976 through the joint efforts of Soviet and American scientists several basic works dealing with medicine, biology, chemistry and the conquest of space were put out. Together with their colleagues in other countries, Soviet publishers

are preparing approximately 150 works for publication. Today this kind of work has become an everyday feature of international contacts in the sphere of book publishing.

Soviet literature is winning world-wide recognition and its prestige in the world book market is steadily growing. However, in the West the distributors of literature published in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, often come up against artificial barriers.

It would be naive, of course, to expect that the Helsinki agreements were tantamount to an ideological truce. In the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said: "Detente does not in any way repeal or alter the laws of the class struggle. No one should expect that, because of detente, communists will reconcile themselves to capitalist exploitation or that the monopolists will become supporters of revolution."

The struggle between the two opposed world outlooks will go on. But this does not in any way contradict the provisions of the Final Act which aim at the development of cultural contacts and increasing the exchange of information between nations. Naturally this does not mean the foisting on one's partners of alien ideas or cultural standards running counter to the peoples' customs and traditions. It is an agreement to promote cultural exchange and the exchange of information such as will contribute to peace and friendship between nations, and dispel mistrust and prejudice.

There are people, however, who hold entirely opposite views on the subject. Among them are the cold war mongers who make extensive use of the mass media in order to aggravate relations between

states and peoples and stir up mistrust and enmity. Certain circles in the West are trying to exploit the more favourable international atmosphere for an "ideological penetration" of socialist society with the aim of undermining the foundations of socialism from within. They are anxious to flood the socialist countries with printed matter that depicts the Western world as "a garden of Eden", and that promotes racialism and makes a cult of violence and sex.

Naturally these aims are not declared. They are veiled by demagogic demands for an "unrestricted flow of ideas and information". However, in practice, persistent attempts are being made to make this "unrestricted flow" go in only one direction. Here are a few facts from the book publishing sphere.

The Soviet Union has long been well known as a country whose readers have every opportunity to become acquainted with foreign literature. In 1976 alone the USSR put out 1,500 works by foreign writers with a total printing of more than 60 million copies. Foreign writers are translated in the USSR into scores of languages of the Soviet peoples. In the five-year period 1971-1975 the publication of translated literature considerably increased. For instance, the total printing of books by West German authors has increased by 12 per cent, by British authors, nearly 16 per cent, and by US and French authors, by 30 and 75 per cent respectively.

Translations of fiction are put out in particularly large editions. In Soviet times the works of approximately 1,400 US, British, French and Italian writers have been published in this country. Of late an increasing number of books by contemporary writers of these countries have been put out.

But the number of books by Soviet writers put out in many capitalist countries is not only below that of works by foreign writers published in the USSR, but is steadily declining.

The achievements of the Soviet social system and the vigorous policy of peace pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state have in the last few years increased the interest of other peoples in the life in the Soviet Union and the communist ideology, an interest that can no longer be ignored. That is why of late the publication of works about the USSR and other socialist countries has been growing on an unprecedented scale in the West. However, in many of these publications the Soviet way of life and thought, and the home and foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are deliberately distorted.

To implement the agreements achieved in Helsinki means to do away with the survivals of the cold war that have made their way into relations between nations, using to this end all means, including books, to promote mutual understanding and a regular exchange of objective information between peoples. This is precisely the object of the collective efforts of book publishers in the socialist countries, which stem from a common ideological stand.

Soviet publishers and book distributors, carrying out the decisions of the 25th Party Congress, are responsibly co-operating with Soviet writers to put into the hands of the people books which promote the lofty aims of cultural exchange and peaceful coexistence and acquaint people with the truth about practical socialism, peace, humanism and social progress.

DETENTE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE

Cultural exchange and international cultural contacts play an important part in making detente a reality and promoting co-operation between peoples. Soviet workers in culture and arts are taking an active part in the development of cultural exchange with other countries and are thereby making a tangible contribution to the implementation of the Programme of Further Struggle for Peace and International Co-operation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples, mapped out by the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

International detente is, in its turn, highly conducive to the development of cultural contacts between peoples. Growing in depth and scope, these contacts are helping to establish an atmosphere of trust and good will in the world.

The Soviet Union maintains diverse cultural contacts with 120 countries. More than 80 states have inter-state agreements on cultural exchange with the USSR and this number is steadily growing. Since the European Conference in Helsinki new facts have confirmed the practicability and stability of this trend. In cultural exchange conducted by our Ministry, the exchange of theatrical artists and art

groups traditionally plays the biggest part. In 1976 approximately 180 Soviet companies and groups gave performances abroad while the Soviet Union played host to more than 150 foreign theatrical companies and groups which performed in nearly 100 Soviet cities.

This is a vigorous bilateral process. The USSR sends abroad the best representatives of Soviet art, showing the diversity of artistic genres in the Soviet Union and the achievements of our country's multinational culture. It invites from other countries representatives of genuine art in keeping with the interests of the Soviet peoples to extend their knowledge of other peoples' culture.

Recently, for instance, a Russian Festival of Music and Dance was put on in the USA by several Soviet theatrical companies; representatives of the Bolshoi Ballet Company, headed by Maya Plisetskaya, gave guest performances in Australia and New Zealand; the Ballet Company of the Leningrad Maly Opera House toured France; the State Symphony Orchestra of the USSR gave concerts in Greece and Bulgaria; the Alexandrov Song and Dance Company performed in the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Theatre of Satire played in Poland.

In the Soviet Union a warm reception was given to the Opera Company of the Prague National Theatre, the Swedish Royal Opera, the London Symphony Orchestra and the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra, evenings of the French song, the Roy Clark's Country Music Show (USA), the concerts of Cliff Richard, the popular British singer, and those of the New York Philharmonic.

Exchange in the sphere of drama is also note-

worthy. Soviet people have become acquainted with the People's Theatre from Warsaw, drama companies from San Francisco and Hamburg, the Emilia-Romagna theatre from Italy, the Compagnie Madeleine Renaud et Jean-Louis Barrault from France, and the National Theatre of Greece. The Moscow Art Theatre toured Bulgaria and Greece, the Taganka Theatre played in Yugoslavia and Hungary, and the Gorky Drama Theatre of Leningrad performed in Finland.

Other forms of cultural exchange are making progress. For instance, the exchange of art exhibitions is often referred to as an "exhibition boom". These "booms" are very popular for they enable the public at large to see at first hand masterpieces of world art. The exhibition of Scythian art in the USA was an outstanding success, as was the exhibition "100 Paintings from the Metropolitan Museum of Art" in Soviet museums. The exhibition of masterpieces from the Hermitage and the Russian Museum was given an enthusiastic reception in Canada following a similar welcome in the USA and Mexico. The exhibition of old American gold dating back to pre-Columbian times was viewed with interest in the USSR.

International exchange between libraries has greatly increased. The extent it reached in the past year is evidence of the positive changes taking place in the world. Today, Soviet libraries exchange literature with more than 100 countries, including all the participants in the Helsinki Conference. In 1976 Soviet libraries sent out approximately 1,200,000 Soviet publications and received some 800,000 foreign ones in return.

Soviet workers in the cultural sphere contribute

actively to the work of international organizations dealing with cultural matters. In the summer of 1976 an international symposium on statistics and indices in the sphere of culture was organized in Moscow by the USSR Ministry of Culture and the USSR Central Board of Statistics under UNESCO auspices. The subject of this symposium was fully in keeping with the concrete recommendations contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. Considerable interest was also shown in the 12th Congress of the International Puppeters Union and the festival of puppet theatres held at the same time in Moscow with more than 1,000 participants from 21 puppet theatres and from 38 countries.

There are great prospects ahead for cultural exchange provided this co-operation is based on respect for the sovereignty, laws and customs of each country, and that it promotes mutual cultural enrichment and trust, and consolidates peace and good-neighbourly relations. Unfortunately this indispensable condition is disregarded by some of our Western partners who seek to display degenerate bourgeois pseudo-culture. The Soviet Union supports genuine cultural exchange and will not tolerate so-called "works of art" that glorify war, violence and immorality.

Quite often normal cultural exchange with Western countries is hindered by the bourgeois press with its demands that exchange should be carried on without any restrictions, the accent being on ideological penetration and the undermining of socialist society. Those who argue in this fashion completely ignore the socio-political significance of cultural exchange between peoples. For instance,

Leonard Marks, a US propagandist, in an article commenting on the results of the year following the Helsinki Conference, deplored what he called the failure of "ideological detente". He totally disregarded all the positive processes that have been attained in cultural exchange and recognized throughout the world.

A normal cultural exchange with the West also comes up against objective difficulties stemming from the nature of capitalist society. The development of culture and the arts and international exchanges in this sphere are effective provided they receive government support, are pursued meaningfully and consistently and are free of clamorous demagoguery and irresponsible talk. The Leonard Marks, just mentioned, wrote that the US State Department had made no proposals regarding the expansion of exchanges with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and that the US Government justified this on the grounds of "lack of finance".

In 1975-1976 a number of libraries in the USA and Western Europe reported that they were either reducing or altogether ending their international book exchange. Financial difficulties were given as the reason. The guest performances in the USSR of the opera and ballet companies of the Grand Opera in 1977-1978 should be a notable event in the traditional Soviet-French cultural exchange. However, because the problem of allocating the necessary government subsidies to the French theatre still hangs in the air, the tour may not take place.

The Soviet Government gives constant support and encouragement of cultural exchange with other countries when such exchange is in the genuinely

cultural sphere. This testifies to the fact that Soviet foreign policy aims at the promotion of peace and the betterment of the human condition. Soviet workers in culture and arts, encouraged by this support, will spare no effort to promote cultural exchange among countries in the interests of peace, progress and world culture.

Fyodor YERMASH,
Chairman of the State Committee
for Cinematography of the USSR Council of Ministers

LIGHT AND SHADOW ON THE WORLD SCREEN

Film art is capable of influencing the minds and hearts of millions of people. It is very important that this tremendous capability should be placed in the service of the great cause of humanism and social progress and man's moral and intellectual enrichment.

The results of the Helsinki Conference lay the groundwork for a considerable expansion of co-operation between European and non-European countries in many fields, including cinematography.

The Soviet Union maintains ties in the field of cinema with more than 100 countries and with many international film organizations. These contacts are varied and include film exchange on a commercial and non-commercial basis; holding of film festivals, weeks of film and first-night screenings; co-production of movies and exchange of creative and production experience; participation in international film festivals and fairs; assistance to developing countries in training national film workers; co-operation in manufacturing filming equipment and developing filming techniques, and in the study of the history and theory of cinematography.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe stimulated the development of our contacts with Western film industries. A good example is the talks on co-operation in film-making between the Soviet Union and Italy. The protocols signed in Rome between the USSR Cinematography Committee and the Ministry of Tourism and Entertainment and the Ministry of State Investments of Italy cite passages from the Final Act of the Conference and emphasize the desire of the two sides to extend co-operation in the spirit of that document.

Film exchange on a commercial and non-commercial basis is a very important aspect of the Soviet Union's international film contacts. In 1976 alone the Soviet Union bought and released for mass distribution 68 films from the socialist countries and 45 films from capitalist countries. A comparison of the average number of contracts for the sale of Soviet films and purchase of Western films creates an impression of balance. The assertion that the Soviet Union sells more films than it buys is groundless. As to Soviet films bought by Western countries, they have never been distributed, except maybe one or two. A few years ago Columbia Pictures bought the Soviet film *Liberation*, which had been well received over a half of the world, but it has not been shown to the general public in the United States. I could cite many such examples.

Western distributors usually say that the Western cinema-goer is not interested in Soviet films or in the life of Soviet people. And they have other arguments, too. The Italian weekly *Il Tempo*, for example, wrote recently that the absence of sex in Soviet films was their serious flaw.

The big American distributing companies try to

avoid distributing Soviet films, again under the pretext that the public is not interested in them. Most of the films they did buy have never been distributed, and some were shown only for a short while in one or two movie theatres.

But it is a fact that the high artistic qualities and humanistic principles of Soviet films have been repeatedly commented on in the press and at many international film festivals. The Oscar-winning *The Dawns Here Are Quiet* has not appeared on the American screen. I can give you another example. The film *One Hundred Days After Childhood* (awarded the *Silver Bear* at the International Film Festival in West Berlin) was screened during a festival in San Francisco. Local film critics praised it, but still the American film companies have shown no interest in distributing it.

Even such events as Soviet film weeks in the West are treated strictly formally by those concerned. When weeks of French films are held in our country the films are shown in the best movie theatres and are widely advertized and reviewed in the mass media. And in Paris, the films selected for the Soviet film week, including *The Ballad of Lovers, Mothers and Daughters, The Red Snowball Tree, Doctor Evan's Silence, The Strange Ones, The Red Poppies of the Issyk-kul* and *There Came a Soldier from the Front*, were screened in a small theatre seating 400. There were no advertisements and no press comment.

While affirming in words the principles of co-operation, respect for the laws and traditions of other countries and non-interference in their internal affairs, Western film-makers have never stopped their anti-Soviet propaganda. The anti-Soviet films *The Snake, Nicholas and Alexandra,*

Sweet Movie, The First Circle, Girl from Petrovka, Innocent Bystanders and others are widely screened.

Film-makers favouring contacts with their Soviet colleagues are likely to be hounded in a manner reminiscent of the notorious "witch hunt" days.

Such is the true state of affairs, and it is obviously at odds with the picture being painted by some Western mass media.

The Soviet Union's policy is to show the Soviet film-goer the best films made in the West. This is no easy task, however. The Western screen is flooded with films reeking of violence, racialism, sex, aggression and sometimes even fascism, films that hurt the national feelings of other peoples. Naturally, the Soviet Union rejects such films.

A few words about advertizing and information. The films bought in the West are advertized and reviewed in Soviet national and local newspapers and in the popular film magazines *Sovetsky Ekran* (*Soviet Screen*) and *Sputnik Kinozritelya* (*Film-Goer's Companion*). But Soviet films are practically never advertized in Western mass media. Even specialized film magazines and other publications either ignore Soviet cinema or distort its message. Western film-makers themselves regret this fact. They say that in their countries the rare appearance of a Soviet film is an event to be chalked up.

But while the Western reader may still be able to find some literature on the history of Soviet cinema, while the works of the famous early Soviet film critics and theorists have been published, although with the greatest difficulty, in some Western countries, he will find practically nothing on contemporary Soviet cinema in film magazines and

books on films and film-making. On the other hand, much coverage is given to every kind of "sensational" cock-and-bull stories about contemporary Soviet film-makers. Meanwhile, in our country we have published books by well-known film critics, among them Ernst Lindgren, Rudolf Arnheim, André Bazin, Ivor Montagu and Siegfried Kracauer. The film literature put out in our country includes Georges Sadoul's four-volume history of world cinema (*Histoire du cinéma mondial des origines à nos jours*) and Jerzy Toeplitz's four-volume *History of Cinematographic Art*. Books about foreign film actors are published regularly. Much has been written by Soviet authors about the work of Federico Fellini, Ingmar Bergman, Stanley Kramer, Jean Renoir, William Wyler and Orson Welles, to mention but a few. Western films are regularly reviewed in Soviet film magazines.

World cinema has been traditionally a subject of fundamental and unprejudiced study in our country. This work is carried out regularly at the Institute of Theory and History of Cinema and the State Institute of Cinematography. The history of world cinema is taught at the Institute of Cinematography without bias or distortion. The USSR Film Repository does much to popularize films of other countries.

Our first co-productions with foreign film studios date back to the 20's and 30's, but it is only recently that the practice has become so common. I'll give you a few titles of co-produced films: the Soviet-Polish *Lenin in Poland*, *Remember Your Name* and *Jaroslav Dombrowski*, the Soviet-Czechoslovak *Little Brother*, *Sokolovo* and *Solo for Franz Liszt*, the Soviet-Yugoslav *Wedding* and *The Only Road*, the Soviet-Romanian *Songs of the Sea*

and the Soviet-GDR *Goya*. Among the films we made jointly with Western companies I'd like to mention the Soviet-French films *Normandie-Nieman* and *Third Youth*, the Soviet-Italian pictures *The Red Tent* and *They Were Marching East*, the Italian film *Waterloo* directed by Sergei Bondarchuk, the Soviet-Japanese *The Little Runaway*, *Moscow-My Love* and *Dersu Uzala*, the Soviet-Indian productions *The Black Mountain* and *Rikki-Tikki-Tavi*, the Soviet-Norwegian movie *Under a Sky of Stone*, and the Soviet-Finnish film *Trust. The Blue Bird*, the first Soviet-American production, is a result of the policy of detente.

We have plans to make films jointly with the American companies 20th Century-Fox and Tower International, the Italian producers Rizzoli and Cristaldi, the West German firm Allianz Film Produktion GmbH, and others. There will be screen versions of books and plays, musicals and comedies. They will not necessarily have to be multi-million-dollar projects. Less expensive films can also be co-produced. The main thing is to be able to exchange talent, experience and skill. It must be said that it is easy to work with companies that are really interested in co-operation. Then we can settle questions arising in our work quickly, and both sides benefit from the equal co-operation. But there are cases when Western companies deliberately advance unacceptable proposals and then raise a storm when we turn them down. And yet I believe that our contacts, which are steadily growing, are not basically affected by such incidents.

I'd like to say a few words about international film festivals which are an important form of contact between film workers. The traditional international film festivals in Moscow and Tashkent are a

good illustration of the Soviet Union's desire to develop active co-operation with film workers in other countries. Cinematographers from all countries are welcome there, without discrimination and irrespective of their "age" and contribution to world film art. This is something that basically distinguishes these festivals from the festivals held in the West, which are ridden with all kinds of discriminatory restrictions. The Cannes Festival is one example of a "semi-closed" event like that.

The last, 9th International Film Festival in Moscow was attended by film workers from 96 countries. For two weeks over a thousand participants and guests and about 600 journalists from newspapers, magazines and radio and television participated in festival events that were held alongside the screenings. That provided an excellent opportunity for a broad exchange of information and ideas. The festival authorities encouraged those contacts in every way and the guests were in no way restricted in stating their ideas. After the festival several hundred guests travelled across the country visiting large cities and the capitals of the Union Republics.

It is hardly possible to find anything like that during film festivals held in the West. There even the films entered for competition are often run in half-empty theatres, while the opportunities for personal contacts among film makers are limited.

Both at the Moscow and Tashkent festivals creative discussions have been organized at which people who were not always agreed in their views but were sincerely interested in the advancement of film art, could voice their opinions freely.

At the film festivals in the West, apart from every kind of discrimination and snobbishness, we also encounter downright ill-will, a desire to prevent

Soviet films from being screened, and attempts to dictate terms. At the Cannes Festival, which was held in the year of the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the authorities were unwilling to accept our film *They Fought for Their Motherland*, and when the film was entered on the programme they went out of their way to have it screened in adverse conditions. The New York Film Festival has all but refused to screen Soviet films for a number of years.

Soviet movie makers and distributors will continue to work, as they have always done, to develop international contacts and broaden co-operation with film workers abroad in all fields of cinematography. The possibilities are there, and it is up to the Western companies now to decide if they wish to realize them. Let us hope that they will also be guided by the spirit of Helsinki and the desire of the peoples for friendship and mutual understanding.

Sergei LAPIN, Chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting of the USSR Council of Ministers, is here interviewed by a **Literaturnaya gazeta** correspondent

TELEVISION UNDER DETENTE

Question. In his speech at the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in Berlin, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, mentioned that three times as many Western TV programmes were shown in the Soviet Union as Soviet ones shown in the West. Could you give us details on this point and some examples?

Answer: Take the exchange of programmes between Intervision and Eurovision, the two international TV organizations: in 1975 Eurovision took 55 of our programmes and in the first half of 1976, 114, while in the same years Intervision ordered respectively 144 and 224 TV programmes from Western countries.

Acting in the spirit of the Final Act of the Conference in Helsinki, we have taken further steps to exchange more TV films. In 1976, for instance, nearly 500 Soviet documentary, feature, children's and musical TV films were sent to 71 TV organizations in capitalist countries. The reaction of the West to this initiative was extremely half-hearted.

The reason for this state of affairs is not hard to discover. Certain quarters in the West in charge

of the mass media, including television, are obviously trying to conceal the truth about the Soviet Union and the achievements of the Soviet people. Seeking to discredit socialism, bourgeois propaganda makes up all kinds of stories about the Soviet Union while hiding the true facts and declining fair co-operation in the field of TV information. This naturally runs counter to the agreements worked out in Helsinki. However, we are firmly resolved to apply all our efforts in the interests of detente.

Question: It is often claimed in the West that Soviet people do not have a sufficiently clear idea of life in the capitalist countries. This has given rise to the myth that the socialist world is a "closed society". What can you say on this point?

Answer: Actually things are the other way round. In socialist countries the people have a much better idea about life in the West than the people in capitalist countries have about the Soviet way of life. Here are two figures pertaining to television. In 1975 Soviet television gave its viewers 820 programmes dwelling on different aspects of life in the capitalist countries. In 1976 the figure increased to 1,573.

Soviet TV co-operates with two of the world's biggest TV agencies—UPI and Visnews—which provide regular colour TV information on world events shown in the daily programme "Vremya", one of the most popular TV information programmes in the USSR. It is common knowledge that TV companies in the USA and other capitalist countries seldom give information from socialist countries.

Question: What are the relations between the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and TV companies in capitalist countries?

Answer: Soviet radio and television maintains various forms of co-operation with 50 TV and 41 radio organizations in the developed capitalist countries. The particular forms of this co-operation are specified in special agreements and protocols.

In the last months of 1976 and in early 1977 new long-term agreements were concluded—namely with CBS of the United States and Westdeutscher Rundfunk (FRG)—and protocols with the Finnish Broadcasting Company (Oy Yleisradio Ab) and the Swedish and Danish radio companies were signed.

Question: With what TV and radio organizations in the capitalist countries have relations been developing most actively?

Answer: Our co-operation with the Finnish Oy Yleisradio Ab is exceptionally good. We exchange TV films and newsreels and produce joint films and reportings, and it is gratifying to note that the number of TV and radio programmes prepared by Finnish correspondents in the USSR is steadily growing. Our Finnish colleagues are preparing a two-hour TV programme devoted to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

During 1975 there was a considerable development of our ties with TV organizations and radio in France. French specialists helped to film Sergei Gerasimov's serial "Le Rouge et le Noir".

During the visit of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to the USSR the first direct TV programme was transmitted by way of a communications satellite from Red Square to Paris by French television with the assistance of the USSR State TV and Radio Committee.

Soviet TV organizations helped the ABC Company of the United States prepare a 10-hour TV pro-

gramme about Moscow for "A. M. America", one of the most popular TV shows in the United States. This programme, which was spread over a week, was watched by millions of Americans.

To mark the 200th anniversary of the Bolshoi Theatre, Soviet television, jointly with a West German TV company, prepared the ballet, "Romeo and Juliet", for showing on world TV. During the gala days the ballet of this famous theatre was viewed by people in 120 countries. The fact was given wide coverage by the world press. In this connection it should be noted that Soviet television and the USSR Ministry of Culture are more willing to take part in making such joint full-length films than their counterparts in the West. The capitalist countries do not by any means always reciprocate our initiatives.

Question: Some of those in the West who keep talking about the "free flow of ideas" are actually only interested in freedom for themselves to engage in shady dealings. Do you often encounter this situation?

Answer: Unfortunately such cases do occur. Representatives of some Western television organizations often try to expand contacts with the view to carrying on anti-communist propaganda and conducting ideological sabotage. They are particularly set on collecting all sorts of denigrating radio and TV material for anti-Soviet programmes. "Soviologists", professional anti-communists, turncoats and dissidents of all kinds often take part in these programmes. For instance, the "Antenne-2" company in Paris, after making a film in Moscow under the title "Soviet Women", enlisted the services of commentators known to be hostile to socialist society who permitted themselves to make insulting remarks

against the Soviet people. The newspaper *l'Humanité* justly called this programme a crude anti-Soviet operation incompatible with the good traditions of friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

The BBC "Panorama" programme showed an anti-Soviet film about Solzhenitsyn in which, among shots taken by the BBC, were some borrowed from CBS in the United States and the West German Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF). These are some examples of programmes that have nothing in common with the spirit of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki, and they run counter to the idea of cultural exchange. It is this return to cold war practices that Western propagandists seek to present as the implementation of the Helsinki "third basket" agreements.

Speaking at the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in Berlin, Leonid Brezhnev said: "We are open to everything that is truthful and honest, and we are ready to expand contacts in every way, using the favourable conditions detente offers. But our doors will always be closed to publications propagandizing war, violence, racialism and hatred. . . We think that cultural exchanges and the information media should serve humane ideals, the cause of peace, and that they should promote international trust and friendships."

These clear-cut principles serve as the guidelines for our everyday work; they determine the tasks of Soviet television and radio broadcasting in the sphere of cultural exchange.

INTERNATIONAL TOURISM IS GROWING APACE

The Soviet Union regards international tourism as an important means of implementing the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. In 1976, more than 4 million tourists from 155 countries visited the USSR and 3 million Soviet citizens travelled abroad, considerably exceeding the figures for the preceding year. In the 1976-1980 period the number of foreign tourists is expected to reach 25 million.

Tourist contacts between the USSR and the socialist countries are developing within the framework of the agreements signed by their governmental agencies in charge of tourism. In March, 1976, these agencies held a conference in Havana where they outlined a range of joint measures to expand co-operation with capitalist countries in keeping with the Final Act of the European forum.

The USSR attaches great importance to this task. The proportion of foreign tourists visiting the Soviet Union from Western countries increased from 25 per cent of the total foreign tourist traffic to the USSR in 1956 to 40 per cent in 1976. The proportion of Soviet tourists travelling abroad to visit

these countries increased even more—from 19 to 40 per cent respectively. These figures show that the Soviet Union does its best to observe the principle of equality in developing tourist contacts.

Exchange of tourists between the USSR and Western countries is promoted by inter-governmental agreements on tourism with Italy, Finland, France, Belgium, Lebanon, Iraq and Cyprus. Various aspects of tourism are also covered in documents on economic and cultural co-operation between the USSR and the USA, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada, among other countries.

Adhering to the "spirit of Helsinki" the USSR has simplified several frontier and customs formalities. Entry visas to the USSR are issued in ten days' time after the necessary documents are submitted to Soviet consulates by tourist agencies. No transit visas are necessary for tourists flying by direct transit. Foreign tourists travelling aboard Soviet or foreign cruise ships need no visas to go ashore in Soviet ports in order to take part in excursion programmes under the auspices of Intourist.

Of late the Soviet customs control procedure has also been simplified. It takes little time, and the declaration is printed in several languages and is simple to fill in. Foreign currency and travellers' cheques may be brought into the country without limit; the only formality consists in registering the amount. To simplify foreign currency payments while touring in the USSR, Intourist agencies now accept credit cards of foreign banks and firms.

It will be recalled that the states taking part in the European conference agreed on "encouraging the improvement of the tourist infrastructure, and co-operation in this field". Much has already been

done in the Soviet Union to this end. In the last five years 25 hotels and motels, and camping grounds for 14,000 tourists have been built and put into operation in the USSR. By 1980, 36 new hotels for 40,000 guests will be built in 24 cities.

Particular attention will be paid to the building of hotels in Moscow, the site of the 1980 Olympics, and also in Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk and Tallinn, where different Olympic events will be held. Additional well-appointed hotels for 22,000-25,000 visitors will be opened in Moscow. They will have conference halls, games rooms with slot-machines, swimming-pools and Russian baths, underground garages, etc.

At present sight-seeing tours for foreign travelers cover 135 Soviet cities in the Central European part of the country, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia and the Far East. Tourists are offered nearly 20 different tours, including group and individual tours, tours by motor-car and bus, holiday tours at seaside and mountain resorts, health-treatment tours and hunting trips, transit tours across the USSR, trips to arts festivals, and sea and river cruises.

Soviet tourist organizations, conscientiously carrying out the provisions contained in the Final Act, are doing their best to increase the exchange of tourists. However, there are obstacles in Western countries hindering this process. These include the lengthy procedure for making out visas for Soviet tourists. In Italy, for instance, the procedure takes 20 days, in Britain and the USA, three weeks, in the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and Japan, a month.

In the Soviet Union prices for services to tourists have remained stable for decades. In the West

they are much higher and are steadily growing. In the last five years, for instance, the charges for services to Soviet tourists (per day) have gone up from 12 to 21 roubles (at current exchange rates) in Austria, 14 to 20 roubles in Italy, 15 to 22 roubles in Britain, 19 to 25 roubles in France and 19 to 28 roubles in the Federal Republic of Germany. This means that it takes at least three Western tourists to provide a currency "income" sufficient to cover the expenses of a single Soviet tourist.

Another significant factor is that certain propaganda organs in the West are trying to revive cold war methods in the sphere of international tourism and are thereby hindering the development of tourists ties with the USSR. With this aim the Western press often carries articles designed to scare off Western tourists with stories of "inadequate services" for visitors to the USSR. All sorts of provocations are also mounted against Soviet tourists.

Using the provisions of the Final Act on contacts and exchange of information as a cover, reactionary quarters attempt to use the increasing channels of foreign tourism to the USSR as a means of smuggling in and distributing anti-Soviet printed matter and pornographic material. Soviet authorities have frequently had to detain certain foreign "tourists" who had in their possession or were distributing in the streets of Moscow and other cities anti-Soviet publications, among them leaflets with outright appeals to overthrow the existing social system.

One can imagine what a hullabaloo would be raised if Soviet tourists were to begin scattering leaflets in the streets of Paris, Oslo, London or any other Western capital urging people to do away with the existing social system. But the very idea

of Soviet citizens doing anything of this sort is unthinkable, for they adhere strictly to the principles of international contacts and respect the laws and regulations of the countries they visit. Soviet people fully support the foreign-policy line of their government to fulfil all the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, including non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and respect for their sovereignty and internal order.

Boris SHUMILIN,
Deputy Minister for Internal Affairs of the USSR,
replies to questions from an APN correspondent

HOW MANY AND WHO EMIGRATE FROM THE SOVIET UNION, AND HOW

Question: Are there any rules about the way one may emigrate from the Soviet Union?

Answer: Yes, of course. There are the Rules on Immigration into and Emigration from the USSR, approved by Decision No. 801 of the USSR Council of Ministers of September 22, 1970. The Rules are printed in a collection of government decisions. Incidentally, quite recently new points were added to them, which make the emigration procedure simpler.

Question: What documents is a would-be emigrant required to present, and to whom?

Answer: Citizens wishing to leave the Soviet Union write an application and fill in forms and take them to the local office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Question: Is emigration from the Soviet Union restricted in any way?

Answer: The Soviet law and regulations on emigration correspond fully to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, passed by the UN General Assembly on December 16, 1966. The restrictions we sometimes impose directly follow from the Covenant provisions, which stipulate, in

particular, that a citizen's right to leave his country to take up permanent residence in another country may be restricted when necessary in order "to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others".

Question: What does this mean in practice?

Answer: In practice this means that in some cases we postpone a decision until close relatives settle their affairs between them, especially their mutual financial affairs. And permission to emigrate may be postponed for those who have knowledge of state secrets or who have recently undergone military training of an important specialist nature.

Question: Does one have to pay a duty on an exit visa, and if so, how much?

Answer: Those leaving permanently for abroad pay a duty on their exit papers of up to 300 roubles. Persons in low-income brackets or in straitened circumstances may be exempted from the duty.

Question: Who makes decisions on the applications for exit visas?

Answer: The decisions are made by local offices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. If the applicant is not satisfied, he may go higher, e.g., to offices of the ministry at republican or national level.

Question: If a person is refused an exit visa, is this final?

Answer: No. After a certain term expires in cases involving state secrets, which I have already mentioned, or if things have been settled among close relatives, the case is reviewed.

Question: Does it affect one's employment or social position to have applied to emigrate?

Answer: Usually it does not. In exceptional cases, the number of which is quite insignificant, where applicants are working at munitions factories or

establishments at which classified scientific work is conducted, these persons may, with trade-union consent and in accordance with the labour law, be dismissed from their jobs and given other, less responsible, positions. Such persons, however, usually take steps to find some other job in good time, before they apply for permission to emigrate. As there is a shortage of manpower in the Soviet Union, finding work is no problem.

Question: Who emigrates from the Soviet Union? And for what reasons?

Answer: There are no social reasons for emigration. There is no unemployment, no poverty. The vital social rights of Soviet citizens are guaranteed by the Constitution. Living standards are rising steadily. The Leninist nationalities policy ensures equal development for all Soviet peoples, big or small. So, not surprisingly, most requests for permission to leave are made by people wishing to be reunited with their families. Naturally enough, most of the applications come from Jewish people whose families were scattered during the Second World War and the Nazi occupation. Family reunion is the predominant reason given in the applications to emigrate.

Another reason is marriage to a foreigner. In the past few years 5,500 Soviet citizens have followed their husbands or wives to 110 countries all over the world. There were 544 men among them. Approximately 2,000 Soviet citizens married to foreigners have so far expressed no wish to leave the country, although they have the opportunity to do so. The number of applicants who give other reasons is negligible.

But, to repeat, the bulk of the emigrants are people of Jewish nationality.

Question: How many Soviet Jews have emigrated to Israel?

Answer: From 1945 to December 31, 1975, i.e., over the past thirty years, 122,000 persons left the Soviet Union for Israel, or, before its establishment, for Palestine.

Question: Is that a relatively large figure, or a small one?

Answer: The people who went were those who wanted to go, and they represent roughly 5 per cent of Soviet Jewry.

Question: Which way does Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union tend? Is it growing, or is it declining?

Answer: You may judge for yourself. In 1975 emigration to Israel was one-third of the 1973 figure and half the 1974 figure. The actual figure was 11,700.

In this connection the Israeli authorities and international Zionist circles are trying to stir up anti-Soviet feeling, accusing the Soviet Union of putting up barriers to emigration to Israel. But the shrinking emigration to Israel is not at all a purely Soviet phenomenon. The American press reports, for example, that emigration to Israel from the United States, which has a Jewish population of six million, or three times that of the Soviet Union, dropped in 1974 more than 60 per cent compared with 1971, and almost halved compared with 1972. More, the Israeli authorities themselves said that in 1975 the number of immigrants was 50 per cent less than in 1974, while in 1974 it was 42 per cent less than in 1973. So, it is rather foolish to blame the Soviet Union for the fall in the number of Soviet Jews emigrating to Israel. It is just one more demon-

strable proof of the malicious anti-Sovietism of the Israeli authorities and Zionist organizations.

Question: What, do you think, is the cause of the diminished emigration to Israel?

Answer: As far as Soviet Jews are concerned, the answer is easy. It is clear from the letters of ex-Soviet citizens who earlier left for Israel and are now asking to be allowed to come back to the Soviet Union. The number of such letters has noticeably increased of late. The principal reason their authors give is the social inability of people who have been brought up and have lived under socialism to adapt themselves to the conditions prevailing under the capitalist economic and socio-political system, and to the conditions in Israel and the Israeli way of life. They point first of all to the absence of stability and security and the fact that there is no guaranteed right to work, free medical care, low-rent housing, free education and other similar privileges they enjoyed and took for granted as Soviet citizens.

Question: What do you consider to be the chief problems when making decisions on questions of emigration?

Answer: Emigration affects the lives of many people and the problems involved are many. I shall dwell on two of them.

First, we are in favour of families being reunited, but we frequently see that some people's desire to go abroad so as to be reunited with their relatives actually tends to break up existing families and family relationships. Children leave their parents and vice versa, or husbands and wives divorce each other. So what can be done in cases like this? Naturally enough, our first concern is for the interests of the Soviet citizens

who stay behind. It is not easy to strike a perfect balance of impartiality and justice when such intricate and delicate matters as family relationships are involved.

Secondly, recently many Soviet citizens who have no desire to emigrate, have received from Israel invitations from non-existent relatives and complete strangers. We have been informed about it, for instance, by I. Z. Makarevich of Novosibirsk, Valentin Gabuchia of Odessa, Lev Maktaz of Lvov, S. M. Birbayer of Kishinev, A. Y. Abramov of Derbent, E. Y. Ernichek of Leningrad and a number of others who were quite indignant about the whole matter.

Judging from the way these "invitations" are stamped and signed, they must have been initiated by responsible Israeli government and administrative bodies, such as the consular department of the Foreign Ministry, legal agencies, and so on. It is a puzzle how these papers are made out for persons who are not related at all and, moreover, are not even acquainted with each other.

In this way the humanitarian idea of helping relatives to be reunited, as is urged by the UN Covenant on Human Rights and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, is being abused. For such doings are nothing but an attempt to abuse the Soviet Union's humane attitude to the question of families being reunited.

Communists do not confine themselves to the limits of their movement. They are always ready to join their efforts with the efforts of all who cherish peace and the interests of the peoples. The Final Act of the All-European Conference has laid a fine basis for safeguarding peace and security in Europe. Not only government efforts, but popular action is needed to achieve this aim, to make detente irreversible and peace truly lasting.

We must do everything to make people aware that their vital interests demand active support for initiatives and actions that promote peace, security and co-operation. This, we think, is one of the most important tasks facing communists, every fraternal Party and all of them together.

L. I. BREZHNEV

EUROPE: A WAY TO PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has been truly symbolic of the far-reaching changes that have occurred on this continent with the growth in the strength and influence of socialism and the workers' and democratic movements. Summing up the results of the Second World War, and working out principles of relations and co-operation between states on the basis of peaceful coexistence, the conference opened up new prospects for strengthening peace and security, not only in Europe, but in the world at large.

In the period that has elapsed since the conference, much has been done to implement the recommendations of the Final Act of the Conference, both in the economic and political spheres, and in the area of freer exchange of information and movement of people. At the same time, it has also become clear that the forces of cold war, reaction and aggression are far from willing to lay down their poisonous weapons. Evidence of this appears literally every day in new decisions by the West to intensify its arms build-up, in calls for intervention in the domestic affairs of Italy, Spain or any other country "threatened" by the people's desire for a

democratic way of life, in the endless delays and dragging of feet in replying to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, whether they are concerned with a reduction of armaments or promoting multilateral economic co-operation in Europe.

The final document of the Berlin Conference of Workers' and Communist Parties states: "The reactionary circles of Big Business... are striving to obstruct the policy of detente and active co-operation, to undermine the results of the Helsinki Conference and to recreate an atmosphere of tension and confrontation in relations between states." This emphasizes once again that, although imperialism has been weakened, its nature has not changed. Those who wax rich on the manufacture of weapons of death and destruction, those who can think of no political cause other than conducting a "crusade" against the socialist countries, against communists, are still in a strong position in the Western world. Their pressure is sometimes strong enough to compel even the more realistic politicians, who want no return to the days of the cold war, to make concessions to them, to shift their position and to be obviously—and dangerously—inconsistent.

Reactionary newspaper columnists, obviously with the aim of hindering detente, are voicing more and more loudly their claim that it has reached a state of deadlock and that there is little of it left anyway. Even in the liberal Western press one often comes across utterances to the effect that nothing can be done about it: the pendulum, they say, has swung to the other side and we can only wait for it to swing back. It is scarcely necessary to emphasize what a harmful influence this propaganda has on public opinion generally.

In this atmosphere, representatives of almost thirty million European communists met in Berlin and clearly and unequivocally stated their opinions and positions, and advanced a joint programme of action in the current situation.

Consistent realism, ruling out both an overly bright view of the picture and unwarranted pessimism; firm belief in the strength of the forces of peace and social progress; optimism and a determination to work for the further extension of detente—these were the features that marked the opinions and attitudes revealed at that meeting, and the programme that resulted from it.

All the changes for the better that have occurred in Europe and elsewhere, the Berlin conference noted, have been won in the long struggle waged by all the anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces. So it would be a mistake to wait now with folded arms until the pendulum swings back "as it should". It is necessary to fight still more vigorously against imperialism and reaction. The General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, Enrico Berlinguer, said in Berlin: "We must continue to fight the reactionary forces that never cease trying to halt and reverse the process of detente or that seek to define it as the preservation of the old social and political balance in each country."

However, a call for struggle by itself does not mean much unless augmented by a detailed statement of the aims of the struggle. The final document of the Berlin conference states these aims. It is worth noting that, in spite of the difference in the composition and aims of the Berlin communist conference and the Helsinki Conference at state level, there is a certain relationship between Berlin and Helsinki.

After pointing out "the need to exert efforts to make detente both a continuing and an increasingly viable and comprehensive process, universal in scope", the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe then focused its attention on formulating principles for countries to be guided by in their mutual relations. In addition, it agreed on certain confidence-building measures—e.g., advance notification of major military exercises, exchange of observers at military exercises, etc.—and generally expressed itself in favour of the ultimate achievement of universal and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. "The complementary nature of the political and military aspects of security" was noted.

Members of the Berlin conference, who gave full support to this point, went much further. They declared that putting an end to the arms build-up was now essential for the consolidation of detente. Leonid Brezhnev told the conference that "it is now more important than ever to pave the road to military detente and to halt the arms drive." This idea was present in practically all the speeches by the heads of delegations from the fraternal parties of Europe. The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, Henk Hoekstra, said, for example, that the most dangerous tendency lay in the efforts of Big Business to find a way out of the impasse that capitalism finds itself in by stepping up the production of armaments.

The conference stated in its final document that it was necessary to put an end to the arms drive and begin scaling down armaments and armed forces. Next, it listed the specific measures to be effected towards that end. First of these were measures

aimed at ending the arms race immediately, especially the steps to be taken now to abolish the threat of nuclear war. Measures were also set out for banning the production of chemical weapons, for destroying existing stocks, and preventing the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. A series of steps are proposed in the document, aimed at withdrawal of foreign troops from foreign territories and the closure of military bases there. Attention was also paid to safeguarding security in the Mediterranean area.

The participants of the Berlin forum firmly supported the idea of ending Europe's division into two opposing blocs and declared that they were in favour of preventing new military blocs or military groupings being formed. The relevance of this declaration is obvious when, in the capitals of Western Europe, calls are voiced time and again for the formation of new military alliances, either based on the Common Market or of a broader scope, e.g., including Japan.

Thus the Berlin conference put forward a concrete programme of military detente. The implementation of this programme would consolidate peace in Europe and the world as a whole.

The Helsinki Conference made a general statement of intent, signifying the willingness of each of the participating members to make their contribution to the strengthening of world peace and security and to the promotion of fundamental rights, economic and social progress and the well-being of all peoples.

Both the speeches made at the conference and its final document made it clear that peaceful coexistence, the active co-operation of countries, irrespective of their social systems, and international

detente not only do not imply a political and social status quo in any particular country but, on the contrary, provide the best possible conditions for promoting the struggle being waged by the working class and all democratic forces, for asserting each people's inalienable right freely to choose its own path of development, and for waging a struggle against monopoly domination in the interests of socialism.

Explaining these points, delegates to the Berlin forum pointed out that the socialist countries—as the First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, Todor Zhivkov said, for example—were pursuing a peace policy which was simultaneously a class and an internationalist policy, and that while they were establishing and developing contacts and co-operation with industrialized capitalist countries, the countries of the socialist community were at the same time rendering all-round support to the struggle for democracy and socialism.

Those taking part in the debate cited specific examples to show how the beneficial influence of detente on processes of the class struggle manifested itself. After analyzing all that was said on that score in the speeches and in the final document, we may sum up the general opinion as follows:

- detente facilitates the further all-round economic, social and political development of the socialist countries and an ever fuller realization of the opportunities existing in socialist society;

- detente makes conditions more propitious for the success of the movements for democratic and socialist change in the capitalist countries;

- putting an end to the arms drive will make it possible to alleviate for the people of all nations

the burdens imposed by inflation and soaring prices, especially for consumer articles;

- the development of co-operation between countries is fully in the interests of the working people's struggle against the effects of the capitalist world's economic crises and unemployment, and in the interests of the economic progress of all the countries of Europe;

- the development of cultural and other contacts between countries, as long as there is no interference in each other's internal affairs, makes for the enrichment of the individual in the spirit of the ideals of peace, democracy and humanism.

The Berlin conference showed that there is close relationship between the struggle for peace, security and detente and the struggle for social progress and the vital rights and interests of working people, and thereby promoted a better understanding of this relationship by the world public. This understanding will undoubtedly help to make working people everywhere more active in the impending battles with the enemies of peace, the forces of imperialism and reaction.

European communists have also pointed out that detente is in the interests of mankind; it furthers peace, and peace is the most cherished hope of all nations.

A considerable part of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference is devoted to co-operation in the economic sphere, in science, technology, conservation of the environment, and in the humanitarian and other fields. The Berlin Conference gave full support to the Helsinki programme of action on these points, which provides for the creation of what Leonid Brezhnev termed the "fabric of peace-

ful co-operation in Europe". It was another step forward in this area.

First of all, summing up the results of what had been achieved in the wake of the Helsinki Conference, delegates of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and of the Communist Parties of Denmark, Austria and other countries resolutely condemned the practices adopted by the Western imperialist forces which try time and again to use the channels of co-operation for subverting socialism and the working-class and democratic movements. The delegates said that respect for the right of every country to choose and to develop independently, without outside interference, its political, economic, social and legal systems and to preserve its historical traditions and advance its culture was an indispensable prerequisite of the fruitful development of co-operation.

At the same time, the Berlin conference advanced concrete new proposals supplementing and further developing the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. It called for the ratification and strict observance by all European states of the international covenants on human rights worked out by the United Nations, as being in the interests of the struggle being waged by the working people in the capitalist countries for genuine social and political rights. It called for solidarity and greater support for the struggle against the policies of the multinational monopolies, which flagrantly violate the interests and sovereignty of states and nations. It called for encouragement to be given to town-twinning, contacts between factory and office staffs, and so on—that is,

for promoting contacts between working people of different countries.

In other words, on questions concerning co-operation, the Berlin conference also put particular emphasis on the interests of all working people, thereby contributing both to the cause of peace and to the cause of social progress.

The meeting at Helsinki clearly stated that the intention of its members was to maintain relations with all other countries in the spirit of the principles set out in their Declaration.

While giving their full support to this stance, the participants in the Berlin conference, for their part, approached the whole question from a broader, genuinely internationalist standpoint. The final document of this conference states that the positive changes in Europe are providing favourable conditions for the national-liberation struggles, the struggle against the danger of war in other parts of the world as well as in Europe, and for the struggle against neo-colonialism and against other forms of oppression. The struggle being waged by the recently independent countries against imperialism and all forms of domination and exploitation, and for the establishment of a new economic world order in the interests of the working people, is, in turn, a powerful support in the struggle of the peoples of Europe for peace, security, co-operation and social progress.

The Berlin final document has a special section on support for the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for the elimination of the flashpoints of war; against colonialism and neo-colonialism; to strengthen their national independence; against fascist and racist regimes; to speed up the economic development of their countries. It was

the first time that the European communist movement came out with such a detailed programme on these points. In this way the conference has made a palpable contribution to the further drawing together and co-operation of the main revolutionary forces of the present—socialism, the working-class movement and the movement for strengthening the independence and freedom of the developing nations.

The Berlin conference clearly demonstrated the creative power, realism and foresight of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe. Its decisions are of immense importance both in the current situation and in historical perspective.

At the same time the conference showed equally clearly that European communists are not sectarian. They are willing to tackle the problems facing Europe together with all democratic and peace forces and express their determination to set up a broad alliance of all forces prepared to struggle for peace and social progress in Europe.

"One may say," said Leonid Brezhnev at the reception held on the last day of the Berlin conference, "that we have together mapped out our route for moving ahead—ahead to a Europe of peace, security, co-operation and social progress. We should like to follow this route together with all those willing to work for the same objectives. This, I think, would already be enough for our conference to have left a deep mark on European history."

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